

000 TRIBES AND TEMPLES

A RECORD OF THE EXPEDITION TO
MIDDLE AMERICA CONDUCTED

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5: Blom & LaFarge

NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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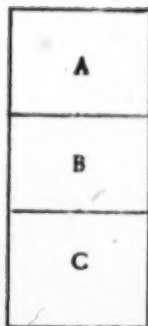
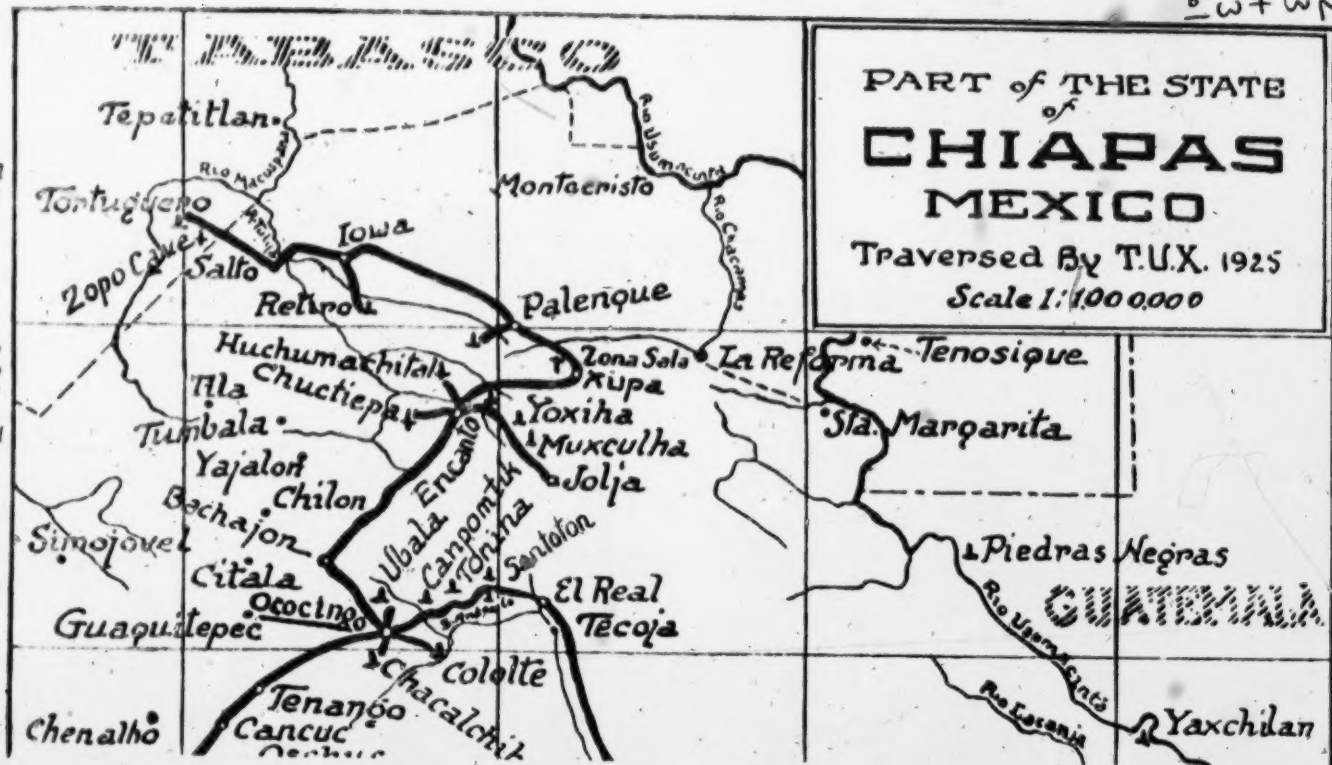


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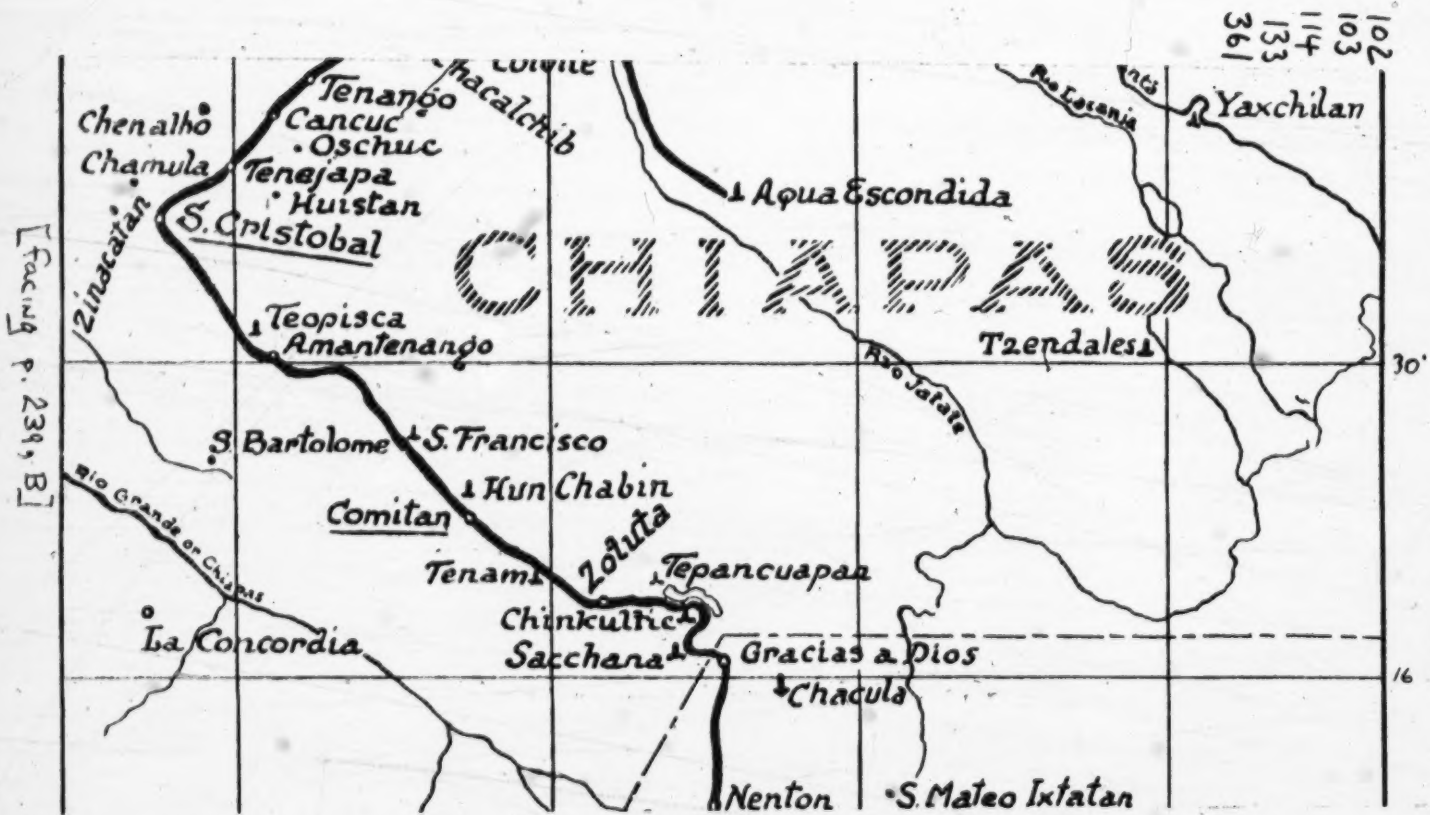
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CHAPTER XI

PINES

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137 Our trail wound through low bush and second growth. Here and there on hills were islands of high forest, but the level ground formerly under cultivation was now covered with an impenetrable network of low bushes and thorny brambles.

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241 Indian agriculture is very simple. Towards the end of the dry season the Indian selects a place in the forest for his corn field, and makes an extensive clearing. All trees and branches are cut in small pieces, and left to dry in the baking sun. When thoroughly dry they set fire to them, and in a short while the ground is clear, leaving it as clean as a floor.

Then the Indian plants his corn in holes made with a wooden digging stick. He sows just before the rainy season sets in and waters his field, and thereafter he has nothing to do until it is time to harvest. The ground is never broken, and no fertilizer is used.

This method is very wasteful. Three to four plantings can be made in the same clearing, after which the soil is burnt out and exhausted. Then a new place must be found for the field.

T
161 In this way great tracts gradually become waste land. Today the population is scarce, and the damage is therefore comparatively small; but before the Conquest the population must have been much greater, judging by the many and large ruined cities. In those days the Maya undoubtedly first cultivated the lands near his town, and as the soil became exhausted, moved farther away. Then one fine day the distance from field to town became so great, the labour of cultivating the distant field and transporting the crops so excessive, that he was forced to look for new country. Very likely the inhabitants of one city would invade the territory of a neighbouring city in their search for cultivable land and this would result in war.

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[721] Dates inscribed on monuments show us that the Maya for some reason abandoned the southern part of their country around the year 600 A. D. After 630 A. D., we find no more dates in this, the Old Empire area, as it has been called; but about the same time dated monuments appear in northern Yucatan.

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361 A general exodus from the southern area must have started at this time, and little by little, tribe after tribe went north, leaving their magnificent cities to a few stragglers—eventually to be claimed

by the great forest. New cities, one after the other, sprang up in the new country. Several tribes stayed behind, but the leaders and chiefs must have gone north. The tribes still living in the southern area are descendants of those who remained.

Several explanations have been advanced for this migration, among which are disease, war, and change of climatic conditions. Probably there are many reasons for the exodus, of which the exhaustion of the soil is one of the principal.

The Maya could have gone south. There they would have found igneous mountains. We find Maya speaking tribes in the highlands of Guatemala, but rarely find great buildings in that area. To the north, on the peninsula of Yucatan, the migrants found a limestone country, much like that which they had left. Limestone played a principal role in their whole culture. Lime was necessary for making their principal food, the corn cake (now called tortilla by the Spaniards). Limestone was easy to cut and carve with stone tools, and burnt lime was essential in their temple building. Moreover, the agricultural conditions were similar to those to which they were accustomed. Therefore, after two centuries of moving around, searching for a suitable place, they settled in Yucatan. There they built more great cities, and blossomed out in a magnificent renaissance, finally to reach the climax and then came the downfall of their entire culture.

Now and then we met a few Indians, but only when we reached the high points of the trail did we see their houses in places of vantage on the hills, away from the trail, so that the inhabitants could look out for strangers.

Reaching a steep climb, we dismounted and drove our animals along, urging them with Indian cries. The pack animals laboured under their burden, frequently stopping to get their wind, then driven forward again by the yells and whistling of the boys.

The trail went straight over the ridge, from the top of which we had a magnificent view of the valley of the Bachilá and Bolontichná rivers. Below we heard the roar of the rivers, and in front lay the nearly vertical wall of the southern side of the valley, an enormous geological fault. Along the backbone of a long narrow ridge we could see our trail winding up to the edge of the wall miles ahead. Nowhere in the huge valley at our feet did we see big forest; all was second growth and patches of grass.

Shortly after noon we had crossed the two rivers, and continued the gradual climb towards the southern rim. As we ascended we

BACHAJON COUNTRY

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saw houses and fields, lying away from the trail, and at a bend before us in the distance a perpendicular wall of yellow and red rock, about 400 meters high, framed in green foliage. A vertical, shining white band, the waterfall "Chegua," cut the center of the red cliff.

Toward evening we made camp by a small stream not far below the rim of the valley, 980 meters above sea level, and rolled ourselves in our blankets just as a downpour started to drum on our tent-fly.

Early in the morning a few Bachajon Indians came stealthily out of the bush to look at our strange outfit. They talked with our Indian carriers, and evidently found out that we were not bad people, as they soon came near to our camp to talk with us.

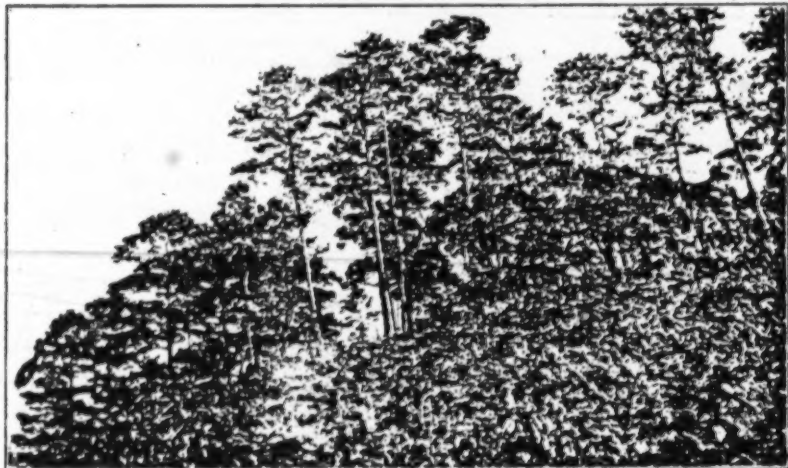


FIG. 195—Bachajon, Chis. Pine Forest.

It was a cool morning and the bottom of the valley was hidden under great soft banks of white mists with the mountains appearing above in sharp silhouette against the morning sky. Soon we reached the rim of the valley and looking back towards the north, saw the many mountain ranges we had crossed and also the Don Juan mountain along the foot of which we rode towards Palenque.

The vegetation changed to low oak-like bush over ground covered with fern-like moss and pretty wild iris. As we rode downward to the next valley new mountain ranges appeared before us and we could see the pine country at a distance. There is no transition from tropical vegetation to pine forest. Change in soil is

132 Change in soil is
134 probably the reason for change in vegetation. The tropical forest grows on black humus soil and the pine country is underlain by a red sandstone which weathers into a heavy red clay. The contact of this sandstone with the limestone country on which leaf trees grow lies about an hour's ride north of the village of Bachajon.

[133] The pine country is very hilly, the trees are scattered over a carpet of vivid green grass cut by the strong red line of the soil of the trail like a scar (fig. 195).

114 It was like riding through a magnificent park, up and down the hills and across small streams. Our poor animals had a hard time on the slippery trail. La Farge's horse gave out, and he had to change his saddle to a spare animal.

361 The Bachajon Indian village came in sight, lying on a hill in the
342 middle of the valley. It was well after noon when we reached the
346 dilapidated, grass-roofed and mud-walled huts clustered around the huge ruin of an old Spanish stone church. The Indians use a new church which they have built of the same material as their houses.

122 The house of the Government agent lies in the middle of the
344 village and here we were quartered in a room, the floor of which had just been covered with a carpet of fresh pine needles.

123 The Bachajon Indians are reputed to be unfriendly to all travelers, so we were not surprised when the Indian chief of the village told us that he could not furnish fodder for our animals or men to carry some of our cargo. To all our questions he answered "Mayuk," or in English, "Ain't got none." But when the chief, a little later, heard from our Encanto men that we had been friendly to them, and that furthermore, we were friends of the big father President in Mexico City, he changed his attitude.

648 The Government agent is sent to the Indian village by the civil
[651] authorities of the neighbouring Mexican town of Ocosingo. He is
[653] supposed to collect certain taxes, raise labourers for public works in the Mexican town, and help the Indians with their affairs. He is highly unpopular among the Indians, who counteract his orders through a remarkable system of passive resistance. They say "yes" to everything and do nothing. The only reason the Indians tolerate [273] him is because he keeps a small store and sells liquor. The Indian is very fond of sugar-cane rum, and every Saturday and Sunday all the villagers generally get drunk. The agent complained bitterly [123] that the Indians were not selling him any food supplies and was astonished when they sold us chickens and eggs.

361 Most of the Bachajon Indians live hidden away in the bush. Only the families of the chief and the village officials live around the old church ruins.

BACHAJON TOWN

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the old church ruins. The chief and the officials all spoke Spanish, but the only one who knew how to read and write was the town secretary, a 15-year old boy.

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After dark the Indians gathered in front of the municipal house and presently some of the elders made signs that they wanted to talk to us. We followed them into the dark out of earshot of the agent, where the Indians told us of all their sorrows and difficulties, asking if we could not help them. They said that the agent tried to raise unjust taxes, that they were forced to do much work for the Municipal President of Ocosingo and did not have time to look after their own corn fields, and also that they were molested by the managers of the neighbouring properties. They asked us to bring their complaints before the Central Government, which we have done.

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From there our route followed the main trail, or Camino Real, between Chilon and Ocosingo. A few hours ride through pine forest brought us to the top of a pass from where we had a magnificent view over the Ocosingo Valley. We could see the Indian village of Sivacá, and the white walled, red tiled houses of the Mexican town Ocosingo, lying on a green carpet of extensive grazing land. Down over the mountain side we scrambled towards the valley bottom, and by noon the hoofs of our animals clattered against the cobbled stones of Ocosingo's streets.

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CHAPTER XII

THE OCOSINGO VALLEY

The name Ocosingo is Aztec, signifying the "Place of Pines," a name well chosen, for the valley is enclosed in pine-clad hills. When one stands at the southwestern end of the valley it stretches out in front like a huge natural stadium with the high San Martín mountain lying at the back. The northern and southern sides of the valley consist of two parallel rows of mountains, the inner rows being lower than the outer. The interior ranges slope towards the valley and turn nearly vertical cliff walls towards the very narrow valleys that separate them from the exterior mountains (fig. 196).

The interior ranges are broken up in many points, and this the Maya took advantage of, selecting the highest points for pyramids.

The floor of the valley is grass covered, with scattered groups of pine trees. Here and there lie ranches, mostly inhabited by Mexicans, called Ladinos here. The Ladino is, strictly speaking, a man of mixed Indian and Spanish blood, but the Indians use the term to indicate any Mexican or Spaniard who lives in a town or owns a larger ranch. With the name generally goes a certain amount of education, and the ability to read and write.

Ocosingo town now contains only about 500 inhabitants, living in whitewashed brick houses with red tiled roofs. In the center of the town is a Plaza, at one end of which lies the Palacio Municipal, and at the other end a huge Spanish Colonial church. In front of the church is the public fountain; the water and news supply of the town. All day long girls come here to fill large clay jugs with cool water, led down from the San Martín mountain through an underground canal.

Half of the Plaza is planted with trees, which surround a dilapidated music pavilion, without which no self-respecting Mexican village could exist.

The houses that face the Plaza all have colonnades where one may walk in the shade, and where families bring their rocking chairs in the evenings to sit and watch the crowds of as many as twenty-five men and women who walk around the pavilion, or to look at the horses and cows that feed on the grass growing exuberantly between the paving stones of the Plaza.

The Ocosingo Valley and many smaller valleys adjoining formerly supported large herds of cattle and had considerable trade.

[Text continues on p. 247]

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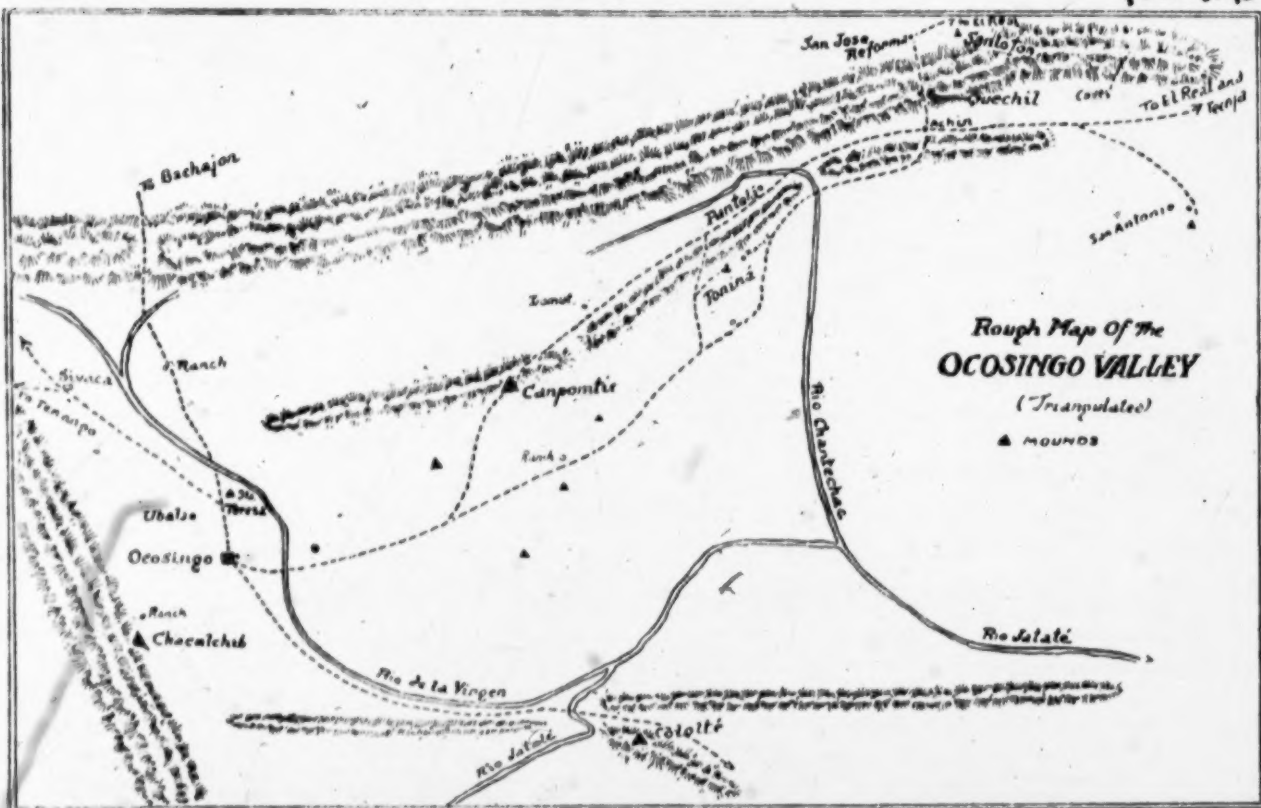


FIG. 196—Ocosingo Valley. (Triangulation). Scale 1:50,000.

Revolutions have since destroyed the herds, and the town now has only a small local trade in sugar and rum.

All goods are transported on mule-back over bad trails. Main trails run to Yajalon, San Cristóbal las Casas, and Comitán. Minor trails connect with Tenosique in Tabasco, a ride of five or six days through uninhabited forests. Other small trails lead into the heart of the forests along the Usumacinta river, where there are a few mahogany camps, fourteen days distance on a good mule.

The Spanish Conquerors had quickly discovered the richness of the soil and taken possession of it. Therefore, we find but a few Indians around Ocosingo, save at the small town of Sivacá, entirely inhabited by Tzeltal-speaking Indians. From there we secured our labourers, who were summoned by the municipal president and worked for us at the regulation pay of 50 centavos per day. Ocosingo holds sway over the native towns of Sivacá, Tenango, Oschuc, San Martín, and Bachajón. The municipality commands the Indians for all kinds of work, and in many ways lives on what can be pressed from them. As a consequence, the good people of Ocosingo are anything but popular among the Indians, though it appears that the man then in charge, Señor Simon Leon, was quite friendly towards them, and therefore well liked.

Geologically, the Ocosingo Valley is a syncline, the valley bottom and the interior mountain ranges being of a coarse red sandstone, and the exterior ranges of limestone. The axis of the valley runs approximately N-80-W to S-80-E, and Ocosingo town is located at an altitude of 900 meters above sea level.

As we rode into the village, La Farge discovered a stone block, carved with hieroglyphs, set in the pavement of the sidewalk, an excellent reception for archaeologists.

Our first concern was to find quarters, which we located in a house on the corner of a street leading into the Plaza. Soon our equipment was unloaded, and while we unpacked, the Ladino guide we had acquired in Bachajón went to his house to order food for us.

The restaurant and meal were a surprise, though not pleasant. In a room with a rotten board floor, the plaster falling off the walls, and a huge box full of saints, we were served fried eggs and black beans by an old woman with a large goitre. Though nothing in the house appeared to be either particularly exclusive or clean, the Ladino family seemed to resent that we sat down at the table with our chief guide, the trusty old Indian, Lázaro, now called "Tata" by us.

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"Tata" means something like father, and the Indians use the word as a remark of respect to old men. Our old Lázaro had by now become a part of our outfit, always working, looking after the welfare of our animals and ourselves. We had come to regard him as a friend, and the name "Tata" grew out of nowhere, as the natural thing to call him.

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FIG. 187.—Toniná, Chis. Monument T-7.

The Municipal President was visited, and as soon as he saw our 114
credentials, arranged for labourers to be furnished from Sivacá, and
sent to the ruins of Toniná nearby, to clear the bush for our work.
Then we drew the stone discovered by La Farge (see figs. 214-215). [26]

During the evening we talked with many of the inhabitants, and 172
were told of several more carved stones to be found in other parts 174



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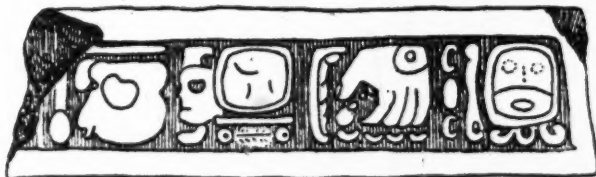


FIG. 198—Toniná, Chis. Drawing of Monument T-1.

of town. Previous Municipal Presidents had paved the streets with 172
cut stones from the Toniná ruins. As a matter of fact, it appears, that 114
from the very founding of the Spanish town of Ocosingo, the in- [363]
habitants have occupied themselves mainly with hauling rocks from
the ruins to the village.

Our search for carved monuments led us into strange places, and
amusing situations. In the corner of a house belonging to the Ger-

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man, Dr. Schmeling, was a stone with rows of hieroglyphs somewhat similar to the one first discovered. Behind the church, in a combination back yard and pig sty, we located three large stone figures, two of them with inscriptions. Then we heard of a stone said to be partly buried in the ground on an old site. When we arrived at this place, the owner of the lot appeared, very drunk, and insisted that we pay him \$25.00 for permission to see and draw the stone. He was very noisy so we retired, and the next morning re-

turned with an order from the municipal president giving us authority to do what we wanted to with the stone, as it was government property (see figs. 197-198). The laws of Mexico state that all ancient buildings and monuments belong to the nation. Monuments cannot be excavated or removed from the country without government permission. The Tulane Expedition had permits to explore, and due to these permits we received much help from all officials. All objects we discovered were drawn to scale and photographed, but nothing was removed.

Outside the village there was said to be a large stone with carvings. La Farge went out in search of it led by our somewhat imbecile local guide. For some time they wandered around without finding anything, but finally the guide led him to what he said was another stone, a large square block

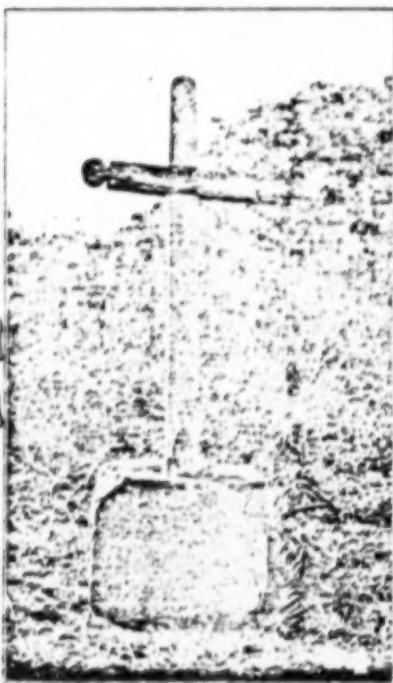


FIG. 199.—Chaln Ranch, Chi. Upper half of Monument T-8 with modern cross.

with a circular hole in the center, in which was stuck a huge wooden cross (fig. 199). The stone had been dragged to its present position by our guide's family, and used as a base for the cross of his grandmother's grave. His family did not wish us to find the monument, as they feared we would excavate it; but our imbecile thought he had to produce something for his pay, so he took La Farge to the stone.

[126] La Farge made a sketch of the principal inscription, which showed that it began with one of the so-called Initial Series, most

important in Maya Chronology. The writer went to draw the monument, but could not finish it the same afternoon as it began to get dark. The following morning the work was continued and we found that a part of the monument was missing. While working, the owner of the land arrived and told us that there was another stone nearby. This turned out to be the missing fragment, and when the two parts were placed together they carried the Initial Series date 9-12-10-0-0 9 Ahaul 13 Zotz, or 422 A. D., after our reckoning.

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This was an important discovery, and we persuaded the owner of the U'ala ranch, where we found the monument, to bring the two stones together. His intention was to use the lower part of the monument, which had a large hole in its centre, as a rim to a water tank.

We found a total of nine carved stones of different sizes in and around Ocosingo. All were of the typical yellow sandstone common to Toniná monuments, and there is little doubt but that they all come from these ruins.

Our stay in Ocosingo was very delightful. The children of the village eagerly hunted monuments for us, and our arrival made a boom in the local market. Usually the inhabitants spend their time passing a few pennies from one to the other. One day A makes bread and sells it to B, and the next day B sells bread to A. Now we added a few cents to the city capital.

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On the day of Corpus Christi the women, with their heads wrapped in black shawls, went to church many times; the men did less work than usual; and the children played baseball on the Plaza. A quaint phraseology, a mixture of American baseball words and Spanish swearing, cheered the play.

While drawing one of the monuments behind the church, we heard an organ playing inside. Suddenly the music swung into some cheerful opera tune, later to return to serious religious music. We had the feeling that whoever was playing suddenly felt gay and happy and decided that the good people of Ocosingo did not know what the music was anyway, but thought anything coming from a church organ was religious, so why not be happy for a short moment?

Indians went back and forth over the Plaza, often filling the door of our room to watch the strangers. Ladinos would come to pay their respects and offer help, and both the Padre and the school teacher often came in for a chat. There was an extraordinary feeling of peace in the little town, a silence which became more notice-

123 able when broken by the clattering of horses hoofs against the paving stones.

172 From the Plaza one can see a great part of the valley and sur-
114 rounding mountains. When the sun in the morning falls on the San Martín mountain, one's attention is attracted by a spur on this mountain which strongly resembles a pyramid. We asked about this and were told that it actually was an ancient mound. Therefore, one morning, we rode to the foot of the San Martín.

Reaching a small ranch, we left our horses behind and ascended on foot. A spur of the mountain had in ancient times been levelled and shaped to the form of an immense truncated pyramid, rising in terraces.

778 We had heard that there were caves in the mountainside, and
114 that every year, on the 3rd of May, the Indians come here to worship the god of the mountain. Soon we reached a small cave, or rock shelter, and upon entering saw that a tunnel led into the dark. This we followed, with lighted candles, into a small cave, and there on the floor we found signs of a small altar.*

We took great pains not to disturb anything on the altar, returning to the mouth of the cave, and emerged into the glaring sunlight. We then climbed to the top of the pyramid, and found a large level area in the center of which stood a small mound. On top of the mound Indians had erected a wooden cross and at its foot we found bunches of pine needles, also remnants of burnt copal incense. Evidently this also was a place of Indian worship.

114 Sitting on top of the mound we had the whole Ocosingo valley
133 at our feet. The red roofs of the town lay 500 meters below us.
172 The top of the pyramid, called Chacalchib, is 1,440 meters above
361 sea level. Far away we could see two other hilltops that likewise had been turned into pyramids. On the northern edge of the valley lay Campontik, and further away on the same side we could distinguish the ruins of Toniná. On the southern side of the valley was the mountain-pyramid called Cololté. All these places were later visited.

133 The valley floor spread out before us. Here and there lay small
137 ranches, and patches of pine forest. Several groups of mounds were
361 easily distinguished, as those of Santa Teresa just outside Ocosingo
172 on the trail to Bachajon. At the head of the valley lay Sivacá, the Indian village.

172 On the level top of the pyramid were rows of stones, indicating
114 old house foundations, but though we made a careful search, we found no monuments.

*For Description, see Chapter XV.

ANCIENT ALTAR

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Slowly we descended towards the valley, enjoying the magnificent view. The country we were to work in for the following weeks lay before us like a map. About half-way down we encountered another cave, in which we also found an Indian altar. This time the offerings were placed before a small cross, crudely made of wood. 778 114

La Farge, as usual, was busy collecting data on the Indians' life and customs, and while he paid a visit to the village Sivacá, the writer set out to explore the Cololté pyramid, sometimes called Hocuchupac, which was said to have a stone idol on it. We also heard that the good inhabitants of Ocosingo were afraid to go to the mountain top, not knowing what the Indians might do. 114 172 [26]



FIG. 200—Cololté, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololté Pyramid.

Our local guide was eventually persuaded to take me to the ranch of a Ladino boy, by name Cenón, on whose property the pyramid was located. 778 114

From Ocosingo we rode along the Rio Grande de la Virgen until it joined the Jataté River, which we crossed and soon came to the ranch of Cenón, who was in the field, but came out when we called. Though the pyramid, as stated, was on his property, he was not eager to take me to it, and when he finally agreed, he first armed himself with an old 30-30 Winchester. 778 133 172

Following long, narrow, pine ridges we approached the pyramid. It was beautiful country with scattered pine and grass below. [37] 778 133 172

133 Finally we reached the foot of a steep hill, on top of which the idol
 773 was supposed to be. This hill sloped gradually towards the north
 172 and the valley. Its southern side was a vertical cliff wall. It was
 difficult to climb to the top as the ground was slippery underfoot
 from its carpet of pine needles, but it was well worth the trouble.
 We reached the top, and there before us stood a small altar, built
 of rough stones (fig. 200). On the centre of the altar stood the
 idol, a small figure, 64 cm. high, carved out of yellow sandstone, and

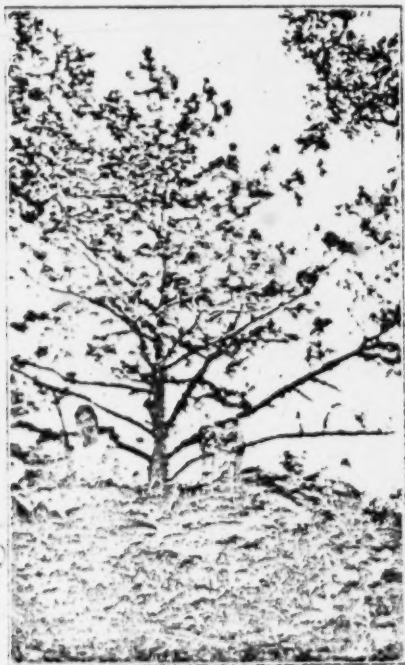


FIG. 200—Cololte, Chis. Altar on top of the Cololte Pyramid.

of the same type as those idols we had already seen, and knew to come from Toniná. The idol was badly weathered—only its sandaled feet were distinguishable. It was without a head, and had no carved hieroglyphs. Before it stood crude clay bowls in which were the charred remains of copal incense; rows of crude candlesticks were planted between the stones; and offerings of coloured strips of paper and small bunches of pine needles lay scattered around.

Four hundred years of Spanish rule, four hundred of Catholic missionizing, had not been able to stamp out the worship of the ancient gods in the ancient way. Here I stood, the first white man to behold this altar, a white man with a deep interest in the ancient history of this country. I could not help feeling that the ancient gods were still living, and that

172 I was nearer to the ancient times at that moment than I had ever been before. As I turned and saw just across the valley the mighty pyramids of Campomtik, and Toniná, the powerful city that once ruled over the valley, I realized that before me lay buried the ruins of a small State within the huge Maya area—a State born of Maya culture, using Maya hieroglyphs, speaking a Maya dialect, but at the same time expressing itself through its art in a way distinct from any other part of the Maya area.

We have divided Maya history in two groups, the Old Empire¹⁷⁵ and the New Empire. Of the history of the New Empire we know¹⁷⁴ a considerable amount, but our knowledge of the Old Empire history is scant. We know the area in which it flourished as a whole, like knowing Greece without being aware of Sparta, Athens, and Corinth. Here in front of me lay one of the first hints of the subdivisions of the Old Empire. Knowledge will advance, and soon we shall be able to tell about the rise and decline of states and cities, to revive the history of the foremost people of ancient America.

Nearly due north across the valley lies the Campomtik pyramid.¹⁷² La Farge visited it while we worked at Toniná. It, too, is a re-¹³³ modeled mountain top, and as it is covered with grass, it stands out¹⁷⁸ sharply against the forest-clad hills. It consists of a series of terraces with a depression which has stone-faced terraces and floor. From the valley bottom the hill rises 280 meters, of which 105 meters (325 feet) have been terraced. Broken pottery is found in various places on the hillside, and on the top now stands two wooden crosses, set there by the Indians. The name Campomtik means "much yellow incense." Incense was burned on the hilltop until quite recently. At such times they burned great fires, and shot off many rockets bought in Ocosingo. Finally the celebrations got too fervent for the Catholic Father, and he had the Indians driven away by the town officials. Generally, though, the Padres let the Indians alone when they celebrate in honour of the ancient gods (fig. 201).^{[103] 1782 1796 1771 178}

Outside Ocosingo, where the trail divides, one going to Bachajon,¹⁷² the other to Sivacá, lies a group of mounds called Santa Teresa. Rumors that Indians had buried church treasures here after an uprising, led the townspeople to make a large excavation. According to some people in Ocosingo, they found a small wooden sanctuary, and a beautiful clay bowl with a fish on its lid. This bowl later was bought by Seler.*

It is remarkable how persistent are rumors of buried treasures.¹²³ Every Ladino expects to find "dinero," money, in any mound, and they are usually sadly disappointed. Also, most of these people believe that we find money, else why should we dedicate so much time to our explorations? We had a case where one man offered to go fifty-fifty with us if we would explore a mound on his lands. The whole mound at Santa Teresa has been dug through, and it is told in Ocosingo that the excavators found, not money, but a small wooden sanctuary with a saint inside. We hear every day, when among the Ladinos and Mexicans, stories of church bells of solid gold, and cocks that crow at midnight on top of the mounds.¹⁷²

*Seler, E. 1901. Fig. 279.

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114 At last we had drawn all the carved stones in Ocosingo, so, preceded by a gang of Tzeltal-speaking Indians from Sivacá, we rode out to the ruins of Toniná. The road led through the centre of the valley, crossing the Río Grande de la Virgen over a bridge which had recently been reconstructed after the rebels of the last revolution [37] had destroyed it. We were riding through rolling grass-covered country with clusters of pine trees and small groups of mounds scattered here and there. The Campontik pyramid stood out sharply against the surrounding dark pine forest. We turned off from the main trail to the north and soon came in sight of the ruins, which Stephens, eighty-five years before, had come over the same trail to visit. Several explorers had been before him, but none had

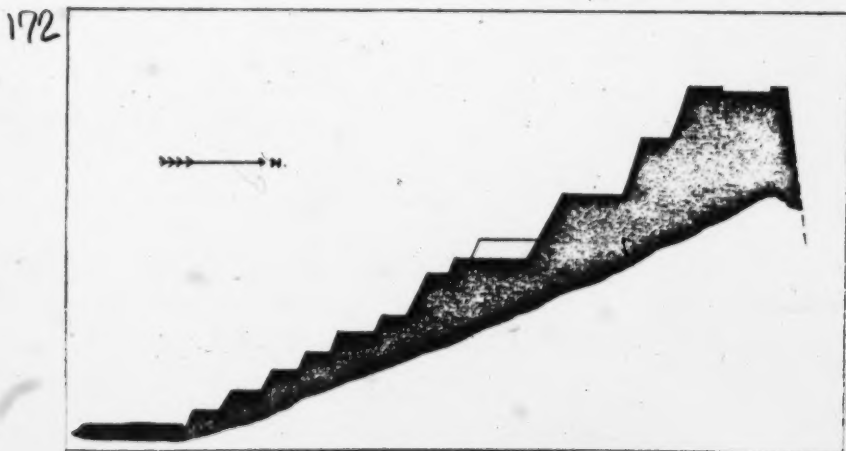


FIG. 201.—Campontik, Chis. Cross Section of Pyramid.

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114 given such a vivid description of the ruined city we were now to explore.

Following the northern mountain range, we came to the Plaza at the foot of the ruins, and rode up to the first terrace as Stephens had done. There we tied our horses and proceeded on foot. Don Aureo Cruz, owner of the land on which the ruins lie, guided us through a part of the ruins that had never been recorded. We reached the Temple of the Wooden Lintel, saw the "winged globe" drawn by Catherwood, then entered the sanctuary. Before us was the wooden lintel which has been lying over the door for nearly 1500 years, and which made Stephens marvel. Then and there we drank a small tumbler of the local cane wine in memory of John Lloyd Stephens and F. Catherwood, among the first to break the trails we

are now following in our search for the history of the ancient Maya.

After crossing a small stream, we rode up to the ranch of Don Aureo Cruz. The ranch consisted of a two-room, palm-thatched house with adobe walls, and a dilapidated hut which served as kitchen, across a small courtyard. We had spent our days and nights in so many strange places that we hardly noticed this, and the more time we spent with Don Aureo and his family, the better we liked it. One could not have found a more kind and courteous family. What they possessed was ours. Don Aureo kept watch over our workmen, and helped us in our investigations from early to late. His wife and daughters were constantly preparing special dishes and cakes for us.

While we were getting off our animals, we saw the extremely pretty eldest daughter of the house, a beauty of about 17 years with long black hair and fiery dark eyes, strewing the floor of the main room with fragrant, fresh pine needles. We were ushered into this room and were at once offered fresh milk and several handfuls of small clay idols by Don Aureo. In one corner of the room was a table and benches, in the opposite corner an altar to San Antonio of Toniná. A few days before our arrival a fiesta had been celebrated in honour of this saint, and the altar was still decorated with garlands of coloured paper, and a paper band with gilt letters saying "Viva San Antonio, 1925."

Our stay at Don Aureo's house will not soon be forgotten. The evenings we shall especially remember, when we sat outside the hut and listened to Don Aureo's tales of the Indians, while his pretty daughters were busy flirting with our guides, and with us too. A pine stick fire lit up the walls of the houses and flickered over the brown faces of our hosts and our Indian labourers, who sat just back of us, chatting in their own strange language and enjoying the local cigars we had given them. Out in the dark our animals could be heard grazing, and now and then a pig or a dog would approach the fire, to be driven away with shouts and sticks.

[pp. 258-324 not processed]

CHAPTER XV

THE NORTHERN TZELTAL TRIBES

114 Ever since leaving Zona Sala, we had been working in the coun-
101 try of the Tzeltal-speaking tribes who form an outpost of the High-
land Indians. The Bachajon, of the Finca Encanto and Bachajon
village, and the Indians of Ocosingo and the neighbouring valleys,
living as they do, cut off from the outside world, strong in number,
and of a rather independent disposition, gave us the first evidences
of how little the Indian of the Chiapas Highlands has changed since
the days before Columbus. The kings and priests are dead, the
temples have been replaced by churches and Christian forms, but
the Indians and labourers of today in many respects live the life
that their humble forebears did five hundred years ago.

114 At this point, before describing our trip up into the true moun-
tain country, it seems opportune to tell something of these people,
their manners and customs. We did not have time to make an ex-
haustive study of any of them, but they were constantly with us as
guides and labourers, and we passed through many of their villages.
115 At El Encanto we had a chance to visit and examine the settlement
126 of the finca's workmen, with the kind help of Señor Ciriaco Aguilar,
who acted as interpreter and supplied us with invaluable informa-
tion. Señor Arturo Tovilla helped us with the Linguistic Lists (see
Appendix III), as well as describing many of the customs recorded
in this chapter. Señor Aureo Cruz of Toniná dictated a Tzeltal
Prayer and Conversation, which was analyzed with the help of
Señor Manuel Bulnes of El Real. (See Appendix VI). In general
it may be said that all the Spanish-speaking people with whom we
dealt helped us in every way possible.*

101 The Bachajon (*Batcahon*) and Ocosingo Valley Indians are, as
197 has been said, an outlying part of a large group living in the moun-
tain country. They speak the Tzeltal language, belonging to that
branch of the great Mayance stock more closely related to Maya.
131 In the pine country of Chiapas they hold the largest share of land,
101 occupying an irregular area running southeast from Simojovel to

[175] *The written sources bearing directly on the ethnology of these people are very meager. Nuñez de la Vega (1792) gives the best account of the early religion; his section on Nagualism has been reprinted by Paniagua (1908) along with an important selection of other early sources. Licenciado Vicente Pineda (1888) in his account of the Indian uprisings, gives some information, together with the most complete linguistic material. He gives a native calendar, probably based on one published by Emeterio Pineda (1845). Of modern scientific works, Starr (1901 and 1902) has ethnographic material, and publishes the only physical measurements (1902). Seler (1898) goes into the calendar in detail. For comparative material Toxrer (1907) and Sapper (1922) have been our chief reliance. Sapper's "Nordische Mittelamerika" (1897) was in constant use in the field for information on all subjects. Particular references are given as they occur. Prof. Rudolph Schuller kindly allowed me access to his manuscript material.

[13] the Guatemala border, which it overlaps at Gracias á Dios. They
[10] do not reach the highest part of the mountains. For the most part,
they live in isolated tribal groups, although in some places, notably
in Ocosingo Valley, they are attached to *haciendas* and *fincas*. Much
of the easternmost country marked in the maps as belonging to them
and the Chol is actually uninhabited wilderness, or, if occupied at
all, is Lacandone territory.

[10] Their immediate neighbours of the Highlands are the Zotzil and
[197] Chaneabal. The former speak a language differentiated from Tzeltal
only by a shift of *a*, *e*, and *b* to Zotzil *o*, *i*, and *m*, respectively.*
Chaneabal is spoken by a small group near Comitán. The people
of that place say that the language is simply Tzeltal influenced by
Mames contact. The list given in Appendix III, seems to bear this
out. To the north, and around Tumbalá, are the Chol Indians, whose
language is quite distinct, but, of all the other Mayance tongues,
probably the nearest to the Highland group.

[197] The language itself has been variously named Cendal, Tzendal,
Cendales, Tzentel, and Tzeltal. I have taken the latter form, as
it most nearly represents the Indians' own form, *ts'eltal*, varied in
careless speech to *tceltal*. The villages are spoken of as tribes, be-
[197] cause each one forms a separate, self-governing unit. There is no
[628] evidence of cohesion within the language-group as a whole save
during certain periods of uprisings. Individual villages may re-
semble tribes of another speech more closely than they do those of
[104] their own. The Mexican spelling of Tzeltal names is given first,
followed by the phonetic spelling (See Appendix III), and the
translation, if known.

[101] The Bachajon live on the threshold of the pine country. Their
[131] farms may be found hidden away in the thick jungle land of ma-
[137] hogany and palms, through which their little hidden trails lead to
houses tucked away out of sight of alien travelers. Altogether, they
[161] are estimated at five thousand families, but it is doubtful whether
evidences of more than fifty farms could be seen by one passing
along the trail through the heart of their country. The capital,
Bachajon Village, is among the pines. There, periodically, the
[648] Spaniards used to round them up, that they might be more easily
policed, and for the benefit of the church established there. Once
[348] there was a fine, stone church and a neat Cabildo with white walls,
colonnade, and tiled roof. Both have been wrecked by the Indians,
[344] apparently because they did not like to be reminded of alien domina-
tion, for from the wreckage of the old church, they took tiles to
roof their new one, and they have a straw-thatched Cabildo for the
Maestro, or government agent.

*Starr (1905) quoting Sanchez (1890).

The country near the village has been farmed out long ago; now the fields lie at a distance in the jungle. After every concentration, the Indians drift away again like blown smoke. Today most of the houses are rotten, sagging, with gaping doors. The paths are grown up with weeds, huge, old moss-covered crosses lean at crazy angles by the main trails. Over all broods the frame of the sacked church, huge stone walls with rank vegetation around them, and a twisted, unhealthy oak-tree on one side, like a composition by Piranesi.

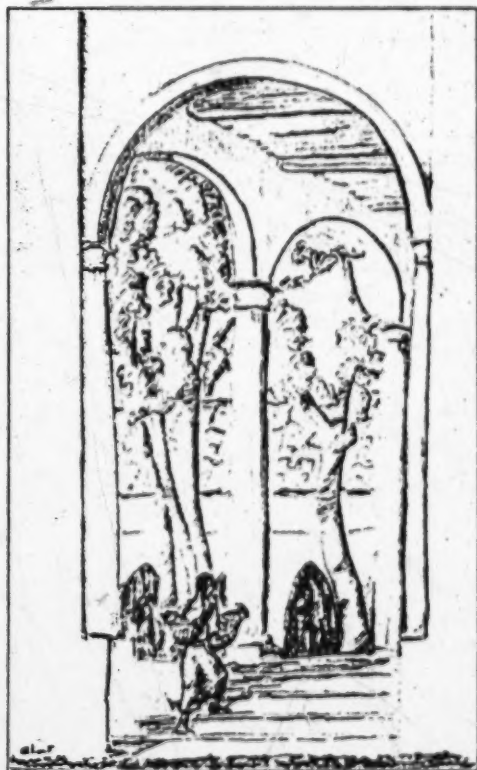


FIG. 277.—Ocosingo, Chis. Colonnade on the Plaza.

Ocosingo Valley and its neighbours furnish a transition towards the real highlands. The valleys are fertile and green, ringed in with ranges of steep, rich hills. The soil in the lower parts is light; here palms and pines grow together, with a luxuriance of rich grass that makes an ideal grazing country. Through the valleys are large and small ranches of Ladinos and old Spanish families. The bigger ones, such as San Antonio, Quechil, and Achin in the Ocosingo Valley, San José Reforma and El Real beyond the San José Pass, and Tecojá in its own valley, each has a village of Indian labourers attached to them. The natives' houses are rather

better than the average, and often tile-roofed (fig. 278). The Indians of each ranch function more or less as a tribe, governed by the owner of the ranch, conducting their own worship at its chapel. A few Indians own scattered, independent farms. Sivacá (sicak ha', "Gunpowder Water"), near Ocosingo on the trail to Tenango is a true village, self-governing, with its own *alcalde*, under the supervision of a Ladino *maestro*. All these groups come together at

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796 certain times of the year for ceremonies, such as those at Chakalchib, and formerly at Campomtik, to be mentioned later. The Bachajón hold their own ceremonies at their village.

141 Physically, the Tzeltal, like all the Mayance Indians, are short, averaging probably about 160 centimeters (5 feet, 4 inches) for the
142 men, and slightly less for the women. Their build is slender, with
147 stringy muscles, except for a good development of the calves. Hands and feet are small and well-formed. Their slenderness is deceptive, for their great strength lies in their legs, back, and neck, seen in their ability to carry loads of 45 kilograms (100 lbs.) and upwards, all day up and down hill without undue fatigue. Taking in a tump-line a load under which they cannot rise from the floor.

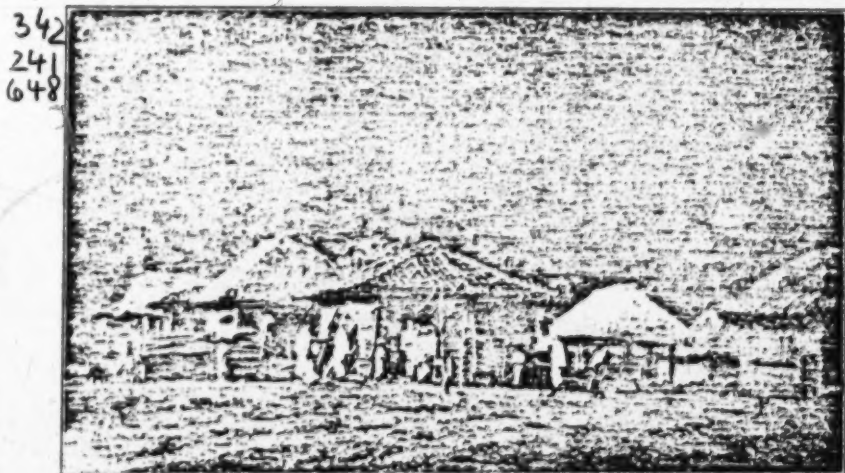


FIG. 276.—Finca Tecojá, Chis. Houses of Indians attached to the Finca.

147 without help, they will carry it with ease. The lifting power of their arms is less than that of Americans or Ladinos. Their headform is meso- to brachycephalic, and the cranium is small. Deformation in
142 the shape of a marked depression just above the juncture of the hair-
[304] line and the forehead, due to the use of a tump-line from early infancy, may be responsible for the conical appearance of the top of the skull. Noses are, on the whole, mesorrhine and small, with little appearance of the famous "Maya Nose," and then in a narrow form, lacking the width of nostril seen in pre-historic figures. Prognathism is slight; alveolar prognathism being the more common, particularly in children. Hair form is straight, coarse, and black. Gray hair or baldness are very unusual. Body hair, as far as could be observed,

PHYSIQUE AND CHARACTER

329

is negative. Among the Bachajon, face hair was very slight, or negative, even on men of past middle age. At Sivacá the Alcalde, an elderly man, had a small beard. This is more commonly found among the Indians further in the Highlands. A slightly taller and more heavily boned type here also suggests the Highland influence (figs. 279-280-281-282-283). 142

Temperamentally, the Bachajon were by far the least pleasant 152 Indians with whom we had to deal. They are drunken, revengeful, and murderous. The murders, usually the sudden outburst of a long-nursed feud, are sometimes so appallingly brutal that one would think them committed by an abnormal or degenerate people.



FIG. 279—Huxumachital, Chia. Bachajon men.

Yet, at the same time, these were the most independent Indians we 648 met, controlling their own lives and way of living, and are left very much alone by the neighbouring Ladinos.

All the Indians are outwardly restrained, at least in the presence 609 of strangers, although an accident, such as a narrow escape, shows 152 them to be volatile and ready to express emotion. At home, they are cheerful, and laugh willingly. In bursts of feeling, as during an uprising, or one of the murders mentioned above, capable of any outrage, ordinarily they are not a cruel people. They showed themselves 123 always responsive to friendly advances on our part.

000 An excellent discussion of the character of the neighbouring Indians of Guatemala, which applies well to these, by one who has lived long among them, is found in Sapper's "Der Charakter der Mittelamerikanisch Indianer."

648 Before passing on to the native culture, a little must be said of the outside influences that do so much to mould it—the Church, the Government, and the Hacienda. The first of these occupies a very curious position indeed. While the Indians are ostensibly Christian, as will be shown later, in many ways they are still unconverted. It may be said, briefly, that they acknowledge two antagonistic worships. Of these, the Christian has publicly the upper hand. The Priests, accordingly, wield a tremendous influence among them, and did even more so in the past, when supported by the State. Our experience on this trip was that, on the whole, this influence was intelligently and beneficially used. To the Priests the Indians confide their troubles, to them they accord the greatest honour on the occasions of their visits to the villages. Yet, at the same time, the Indians conceal from them one-half of their worship, knowing them to be sworn to stamp it out.

[142]
[291]
[301]
[302]
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648 The Hacienda system has caused the formation of many small villages, as has been said above. In other cases, as with the Bachajon on the Encanto property, the Indians living at large on the distant lands of the



FIG. 290—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon girls.



FIG. 291—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon man and boy.

GOVERNMENT LABOUR

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hacienda, are held liable for a certain amount of labour each year, in lieu of rent. Should one of them fail to do his share, the owners are considered free to arrest him and bring him in. While so working, they are paid, largely in credit at the local store, and fed. On the haciendas with regular village establishments, and in other parts of Mexico, this system has worked smoothly in the past, because the workers found themselves cared and provided for, corn laid up for the future, money or credit ready for festive occasions, and so forth. But the more independent Bachajones seem amply able to take care of themselves, and do not relish working for a ranch miles from their homes, even when they acknowledge its ownership of the jungle in which they dwell.

The payment of labour is seen again in relations of the Indians with the Government, which holds them liable to road-mending and municipal work, as a

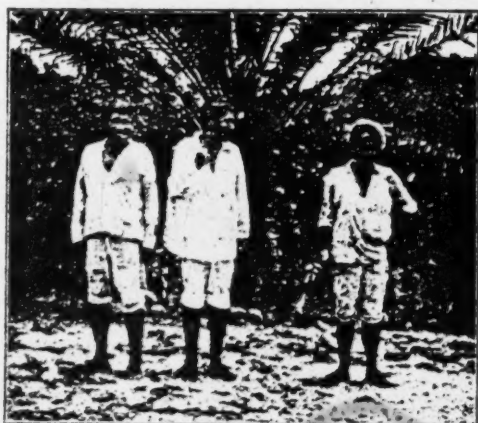


FIG. 282.—El Encanto, Chi. Bachajon men.

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form of tax. Commonly, crimes are also punished by fines of such work. The system is irregularly applied. For instance, some Indians from Cancuc, who were carrying part of our outfit to San Cristóbal, were held up for two hours road-work at one point. Every Indian that came that way was similarly held. Starr (1902) reports the same experience. In San Cristóbal the right to collect any Indian for labor has

been so abused as materially to harm the trade of the town. Quite serious crimes, as long as only committed by one Indian against another, are relatively lightly punished in this manner. It may be said, as far as concerns the tax-*corvée*, that the right of the Indians to go home again before staying away long enough to cause their crops to suffer is generally recognized, and the Indians themselves know when it is time to announce that they must leave. The whole system, however, leads to a certain amount of hard feeling on the Indians' part.

829

Interwoven with these specific factors must be considered the Ladino's general attitude towards the Indian. To him, especially the town-dweller, the natives are barbarous in all respects, legiti-

648

648 mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

829 The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

241 In their culture these people
[181] belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend
[433] primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful

[178] "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajón, it has already become
[166] one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.



FIG. 332—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

amazing industries in the world. In addition, most men own smooth-bore flint-lock muskets, a few having progressed to percussion caps. The bow and arrow occurs occasionally as a child's toy. 411
[324]

The Bachajon men dress in cotton clothing, made of material bought in Ocosingo, or, more rarely, of home weave (fig. 284). The shirt is cut without tails, the trousers are of European type save that they tie with a string and have no buttons. Ordinarily they are worn rolled up above the knee. Over the trousers is worn a 291



FIG. 284—El Encanto, Chix. A Bachajon
Medicine Man.

sash of native weave, red with fringed ends, and often decorated with black and yellow design in lines, sometimes forming a plaid effect. The sash is wound around, crossing in front, then turned back on itself, and the ends tucked under behind, so that they hang down below the shirt (fig. 285).

Shirts of native weave occasionally have fine coloured lines running through them. The opening, which runs about two-thirds of the way down the front, the cuffs, and the seams at the shoulders may be decorated with very simple stitching. Down the front is a row of small buttons, coloured if possible, not all of which are for use. The most admired arrangement seems to be an alternation, such as red, black, white, repeated, although cases were observed in which no two were alike. These buttons are bought at the stores.

Sandals, *tep*, are ordinarily of leather, a thick sole with simple heel-toe string and loop. The leather is usually bought ready-cut. Formerly they were made of *mahagua* bast wicker-work, in form corresponding to that found in Basket-Maker sites of the South-western United States,* and these are still occasionally woven. The finest specimens are dyed red with a bark. Bast sandals are called *canak* (fig. 286). [92]

*Kiddler and Guernsey, 1918, Page 100 et seq.

291 Their hats are a smaller-brimmed version of the Mexican sombrero, plaited by the men out of straw. The long plait is stitched in a spiral with *ixtle* fibre or hennequen. They may be decorated with coloured ribbons.

302 Hair is worn short, and banged across the forehead.

291 The Bachajon women get themselves up a little more gaily, in a dark blue skirt and prettily embroidered blouse. Both are made of materials purchased in the stores. The skirt, *taekel*, made of the blue cotton from San Cristóbal, is in the form of a cylinder, decorated along the seams, with parti-coloured stitching, red, white, green, and yellow. Naturally, it is a great deal too full at the waist; this fullness is taken up with a twist, which is then tucked in, holding the skirt in position without disaster.

The blouse, *kuul*, is of white cotton, the neck open from shoulder to shoulder, with a short sleeve coming half-way to the elbow. Embroidery of red and blue thread, or an appliqué of stamped tape bought in the stores, outlines the neck and shoulder seams, the edge of the sleeves, and the upper part of the front of the blouse. The bottom is tucked in under the skirt.

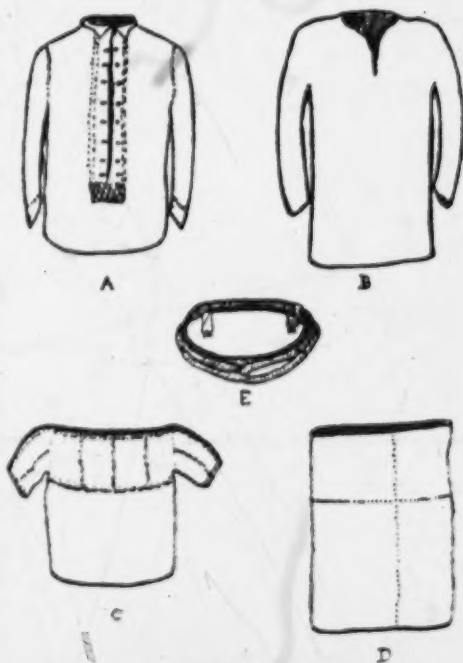


FIG. 285—Costumes, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.

- A. Shirt, Bachajon.
- B. Men's shirt, Ocosingo Valley.
- C. Woman's blouse, Bachajon.
- D. Woman's skirt, Bachajon and Ocosingo Valley.
- E. Sash.

302 The women do their hair in one or two braids, which may be decorated with red or yellow ribbon. Ordinarily it is very neatly combed and parted down the middle. Sometimes it is allowed to hang unbraided, but gathered with a pin or ribbon just behind the head.

291 Curiously enough, the Indians in Ocosingo Valley, although more in contact with the Ladino people, have a less European costume.

tune. The men's shirt is more of a tunic, home woven, without cuffs, collar, or buttons, with a V-neck, and much longer. It may be tucked in under the trousers or worn outside, with the sash over all. Their trousers are sometimes wrapped at the ankles with tape. On the haciendas, a great deal of ordinary European clothing, bought at the local stores, is worn. 291
[177]

The women's dress does not differ from the Bachajon, save for a coarse red sash with yellow stripes, which comes from Comitán.

Houses, *na'*, are of two kinds, the normal, highland type found in Ocosingo Valley and in Bachajon Village itself, and a palm-roofed variant, not unlike the houses of the lowlands, found among the Bachajon in the jungle region (fig. 287). 342
[184]



FIG. 286—El Encanto, Chis. Bark Sandals.

The roof of the normal type, made of a grass thatch laid on in overlapping bundles to a thickness of about twenty centimeters, is called *winikak*. It stands independently of the walls, being supported on cross-beams laid from the main uprights, *kuk'up*. A hip roof is always used for a true dwelling. Often the building is under-cut at one end, so that a small porch is made, on which the door opens. [291]
←

The walls, *p'ahk*, are of upright sticks stuck in the ground and lashed with lianas, standing without support, separate from the frame. Usually they are thinly plastered with mud. The manner of building the frame itself is described below.

Those of the Bachajon living in the close jungle, where grass is not available, thatch their roofs with palm, when they are called *can*. The leaves are usually of the *chiapai*, *tcyapai*, or *chichon*, *ak'te*. Banana leaves are sometimes used for temporary structures, but fray too readily. Owing to the warmer climate, the walls are not plastered, and often part of the house is un-walled. Usually the porch is omitted. A careful study was made of a house of this type about half a mile from the Finca Encanto, which was a good example save that, being in an open space where grass was plentiful, it was grass thatched.

123 Visiting such a house is not a mere, simple social affair. Here,
648 on a steep-sided and slippery natural hill, lived a family belonging
to a notoriously exclusive people. Our hostess seemed suspicious
of the visit at first, although one visitor was a "Melicano," one of
the pair who had already acquired a good reputation with the In-
dians, and his guide, Señor Aguilar, was known to be a friend. Men
in felt hats and boots seldom visited those houses for good purposes;
at the best, they might be expected to make off with a quantity of
eggs and tortillas without paying their value—at the worst, the head
of the house might be haled away for forced labour, or there might
be a fight, the pigs killed, and the little hut set afire. The family
consisted of a married couple their small son, and two grown girls.
On our first visit the wife alone was there. She was at first sullen
and a little frightened, but becoming reassured by degrees, showed
herself to be a placid, dignified woman, pleasant, neat, and in many
ways an ideal type of the traditional housewife. After we had given
medicine to one of the girls for cold, and to the husband for mild fever,
with a gaudy chromo of a saint to decorate the family altar, they came
to take us for granted, and allowed us to see unfolding the harmonious,
dignified family life, with its feeling of unvoiced yet real affection that is so typical of the
American Indian where European contact has been slight. The
little house, only half walled, and small—about 15 x 18½ feet—was
always neat, its dirt floor swept clean, each small possession in its
place. There was a faint smell of wood-smoke and earth, with the
scent of the rich jungle drifting in, the sound of low-voiced talk,
wind in grass, or the grind and thump of the metates, now and then
laughter.

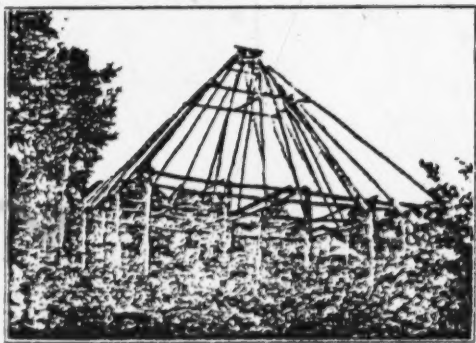


FIG. 287.—Cancun, Chis. Frame of house, illustrating type hut set afire.

342 The house was a rectangle, 4.90 x 4.20 meters (figs. 288-289),
353 the front of the house being on a short side. The back and slightly
356 less than half of the sides were walled with close-planted, upright
poles, without plastering. To wooden beds, *waiyivel*, like low
tables, were built into the corners thus framed. Four corner-posts,

HOUSE AT EL ENCANTO

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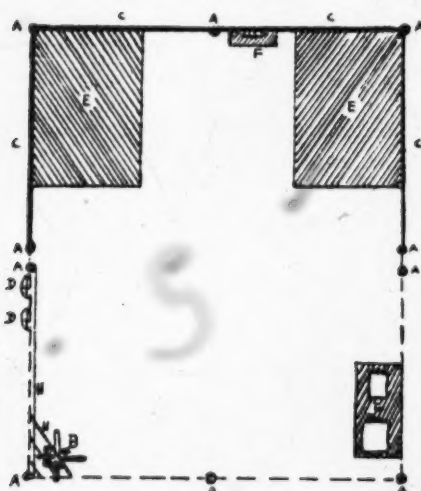


FIG. 288—El Encanto, Chis. Bachajon House. Plan.
(Scale 4:100).

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| A. Uprights, kuk'up. | E. Beds. |
| B. Fire. | F. Altar. |
| C. Wall, p'ahk. | G. Table with Metates. |
| D. Rat Trap. | H. Racks. |

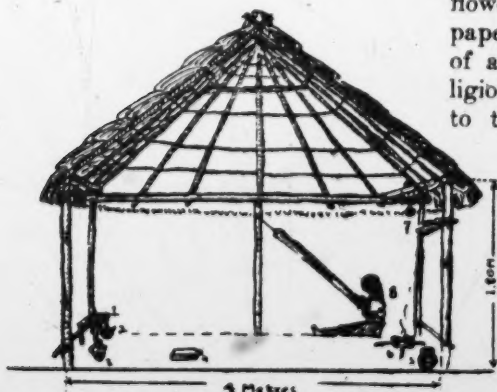


FIG. 289—El Encanto, Chis. Section of Bachajon House.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Table, ahk'en, with Metates. | 3. Olla, ocon. |
| 2. Basket of clay, tsavak lum. | 4. Fire, kak'. |
| 3. Tenango water jar, k'ip. | 7. Rack, bartot, with packages. |
| 4. Squatting chair, tsamate. | 8. Woman weaving. |

a central front and back post, and two posts close together on each side at the ends of the walls, supported the roof-beams. There were no horizontal members save the plates, following the line of the eaves. The rafters were built up from these direct to the ridge-pole, joined by light cross pieces, or thatching-poles, laid on outside. Near the top they were braced by a purlin of heavy logs on the inside. From floor to eaves it was 1.80 meters, and about the same from eaves to the ridge-pole. The floor was of hard dirt, fairly well levelled, and well swept. We were told that situations on hills, such as this, are commonly chosen to assure drainage, and that there is no orientation.

The altar, a table and a large cross decorated with flowers, pine-tips, and bits of paper, which will be spoken of again when discussing religion, was placed at the back to the right of the middle post. In front, to the right, was the table, ahk'en, on which were two metates, or grinding stones. They were legless, one end being raised slightly by propping with stones. The finer one was called skaltca-tut ("metate-small"), it was made of a fine, sandy lime-

412 stone, *ton-al-ha'*, ("water stone"). The other, *skaltca-muk* ("big, metate") was made of an igneous stone called *haydltcak*, brought from San Martín. The *manos*, or smaller stones used for grinding on these, were called *miscabtca* (fig. 290). To the left, opposite 354 this table, was the fire, *kak'*, built of two broken ollas and two small rocks, placed so that the logs could be laid star-fashion between them, and close enough together to support the tortilla griddle or 354 an olla (fig. 291). Outside the house was another fire, with only 251 three stones, on which was drying a basket full of *pinole*, *tcilim*, a 252 fruit which is mixed with cacao in a form of chocolate. Over the 354 house fireplace racks, *bartet*, were placed at the level of the eaves across the corner, and along the wall to the middle post, that things 353 hung up there might be protected by the smoke from insects. All 417 these things are indicated in the plan.



FIG. 290—Table with Metates.

352 A hammock, *aktci*, which we understood was not of native make, hung across the middle of the house. Two woven mats, *pOp*, the Spanish *petate*, lay on the beds. Beside this, the beds, and the table, the only thing that could properly be called furniture was a three- 357 legged stool about 30 centimeters high, *matsumte*. Two mats of pounded bark, or *tapa*, *bat-te* ("bark tree"), or *bat manil tcahan*, were rolled up in a corner. First comers got the hammock to lie in, others sat on the low "squatting seats," *tsamate*, of which there were three, made each of half a log, peeled, and partially flattened on top, with a handle on one end.

415 The tortilla griddle was a flat, dish-like pottery affair, about 40 centimeters in diameter. There were five ollas, *ocom*, with plain

necks and round bottoms. Two were full of corn and lime for 415
tortillas, just off the fire. A big Tenango jar, *k'ip*, of the kind to
be described at that place, was used for water.

A pottery dish, about 7 centimeters across, *tact*, is commonly 515
offered to guests to wash their hands. It is placed on a pottery stand 574
of an hour-glass shape, about 15 centimeters high, *acaliko* (see fig.
299). The ordinary plates and general vessels are flat gourd dishes,
qai', about 20 centimeters across. Gourds as well were used for a
dipper, *tuts*, and a water-jar, *tsur*. Two nets hung from the rack. 353
There were three small baskets, *tutemotc*, and four big ones, *mukul-*
motc. Hanging on the wall were a pair of the basket-work sandals
mentioned before, and selected ears of corn for seed. The wife's 283
textile outfit, more fully described later, consisted of a spindle, *pētēt*, 286.

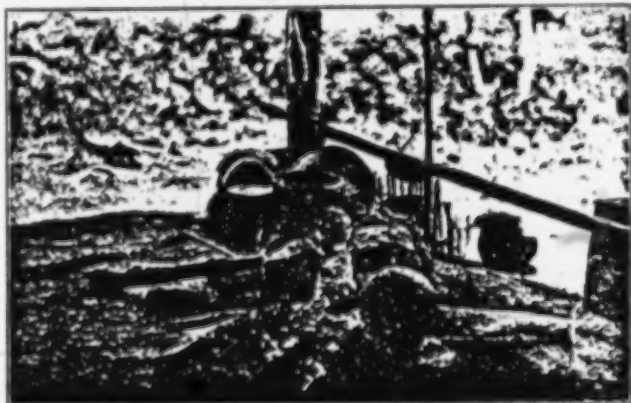


FIG. 299—Bachajón Fireplace.

with clay whorl, spun in a gourd bowl, *tsima*, cotton, *t'umin*, hang- 283
ing in leaves, and the loom itself, *holžl*. A sling, made of a forked 286
stick and rubber band with a leather piece to take the clay pellet, 411
finmutc, belonged to the small boy. Bananas were drying on the
rack. With them were laid, or hanging in packages of leaves, bees- 353
wax, *tcavek*, blocks, 20 x 20 x 2 centimeters, for trade purposes, 237
used for making candles, a lump of hard red clay, *baq lum* ("bitter 251
earth"), for washing the hair, and sometimes also eaten, a package
of brown loaf sugar, salt, *atsam*, traded down from the Zotzil coun-
try, several packages of pimiento pepper, and serpent fat, *junto tean*,
for rubbing on the chest to cure coughs. Under the table was a 353
basket of coarse, blackish-gray clay for making pottery, *tcavek lum* 323
("beeswax earth"). Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail

353 Five wild boars' jaws and an armadillo's tail
[231] hung in the eaves so that the dogs might see them, to prevent their
[415] going away or losing heart. A swizzle stick, *mahas*, about 40 centi-
[24] meters long, was used for stirring cocoa. It is made by cutting a
twig above a joint with four branches. Two rat traps, *yakul*, just
outside the hut, were exact models of the larger deadfalls used for
jaguars (see fig. 308).

[291] Add to this the clothes on the inhabitants backs, and the man's
[411] machete, and you will have a complete list of the worldly possessions,
large and small, of a Bachajón family—altogether some forty-four
different kinds of things. We assembled as many together as pos-
[126] sible, arranging them as for a feast, and placed in the middle the

small son of the house, and a little monkey of a boy, Miguel, who accompanied us to run errands (fig. 292).

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←

[123]
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FIG. 292—Bachajón boy guests.

If mud-plastered walls are added to this description, you have a typical Ocosingo Valley house. Change the grass roof to palm, it is the kind to be seen in the jungle country.

At Muxculja (*muckul ha*, "Covered Water"), in the jungle, our Indians built us a trail shelter or hut of the type called in Spanish *champa*, and in Tzeltal *tutna*, "small house." This enabled us to note the manner of building the frame-work and laying on the roof. The kind of *champa* built for us, with an A-roof and gable ends,

is called *gwakac na*, "cow house"; the more common type built by the Indians when alone, a simple lean-to, is called *lestce-pat* (should be *lestce-pahk*?) "only one wall."

Our shelter being more than usually pretentious, we could observe most of the steps in building a true house, although, of course, the form here was different and the construction much lighter (figs. 293-294). It was three meters, fifty-one centimeters long by three meters wide, two meters high at the ridge-pole, one at the eaves. It had no walls. From the construction of the outline of the frame to the completed thatching it took fifty minutes for four men, later only two, working without haste.

[461]

only two, working without haste. The only tools used were machetes, which served even for digging the post-holes and for trenching.

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The elementary frame consisted in two forked upright posts, *makan-te*, supporting the ridge-pole, *kabaiye-te*, four forked corner posts, *oiz*, two plate-poles, *tsai-te*, and gable-rafters, *sak-te*.

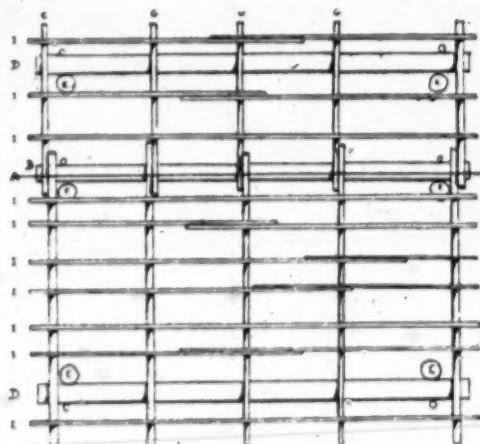


FIG. 293—Formalised plan of roof of shelter.
A. False ridge-pole, *kabaiyete*. B. Ridge-pole, *kabaiyete*. C. Gable rafters, *sakte*. D. Plates, *tsai-te*. E. Corner posts, *oiz*. F. Center posts, *makante*. G. Rafters, *sakte* (?). H. Thatching-poles, *hutl*.

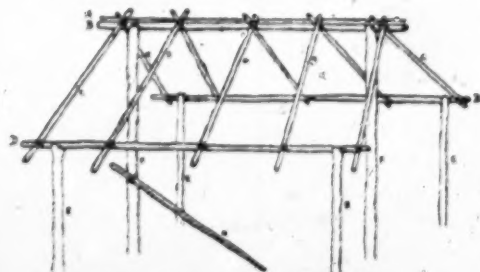


FIG. 294—Sketch of frame of shelter.
A. False ridge-pole, *kabaiyete*. B. Ridge-pole, *kabaiyete*. C. Gable rafters, *sakte*. D. Plates, *tsai-te*. E. Corner posts, *oiz*. F. Center posts, *makante*. G. Rafters, *sakte* (?). H. Staging for work on under side of roof.

Three lighter poles were then laid on each side as rafters, and lashed to the ridge and plates with lianas. Thatching-rods were laid parallel to the ridge-pole across them, they were also lashed with lianas, the vines being laid along the rafters in a spiral, with a criss-cross hitch at each rod. A light false ridge-pole was laid over the true one, resting in the crotches of the crossed gable-rafters. It was said that this was also called *kabaiyete*. Projecting ends of sticks were then trimmed.

Palm-leaves were gathered in bundles of four, tied together with their own base-fronds. These were laid on in the manner of shingles, and the stems tied down to the thatching rods with a spiral running liana similar to that binding the poles. As the leaves are

over a meter long, only four rows were needed to cover the long side of the roof, allowing a considerable over-hang, although more would have been used in a permanent dwelling. A row of over-lapping leaves was laid on top of and parallel to the false ridge-pole, bound down, and secured with yet another light stick.

342 The thatching was done by one man on the roof and another, who stood on a slanting stick tied to one of the center uprights, to help the first pass the liana around.

The angle of the long side not being steep enough, the roof leaked. Two men held the eaves-pole on their shoulders while the rest drove the corner posts in deeper, thus making the angle sharper and improving the shed.

[356] Repairs in thatch are made by laying new bundles of leaves directly over the old, the stems being stitched into the thatch with a liana, and a wooden needle made on the spot.

343 In all the larger settlements sweat-baths, *pus*, are located (figs. 295-296). The essential element is a cube of wattle thickly plastered

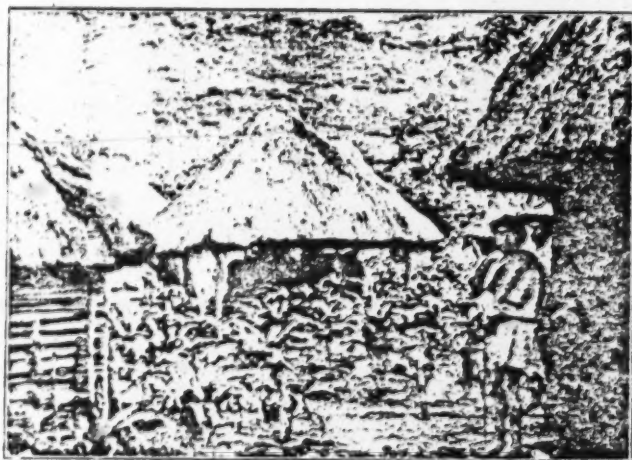


FIG. 295—Tenango, Chis. Sweat House of same type used in Ocosingo Valley.

with mud, about a meter to a meter and a half in all measurements, with a small doorway in one end. The door is of the same construction, or of boards. At Sivacá there were thatched roofs above the baths, but entirely separate from them. Water poured on hot stones is used in them. The purpose appears to be medicinal rather than ceremonial.

323 All the Highland Indians make vessels of clay, with the possible exception of the Tenejapeños. Among the Bachajon and at Sivacá, the art is not very well developed, only the most common forms being made, without decoration. Their clay, *tcavek lum*, ("bees-wax earth"), is found in the banks of many small streams. It is a

[135]

POTTERY MAKING

dark gray in colour, with a considerable admixture of fine limestone gravel. As far as could be ascertained, the mixture is worked without other preparation than that of dampening it to a good consistency.

The actual pottery making, *hutsul ja pas öcom*, ("I am making a cooking pot"), which is done by the women, was observed at Sivaca. Some of the men of the village had worked for us at Toniná, and they, particularly the heavy set one on the extreme right of the picture (fig. 297), a cheerful and very thirsty fellow, remembered me as a friend. A few poor jokes and a handful of cigarettes won the men over, so that the visit became less an investigation than a triumphal tour, escorted by the whole male population, the Alcalde leading, in and out through the village. It really was very good fun. We wound our way among the huts, seeking the

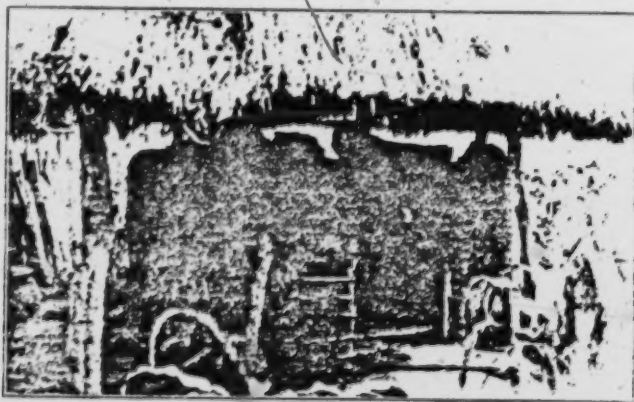


FIG. 297.—Tenango, Chi. Close-up of Sweat House.

shade wherever possible, scuffling up a good deal of dust, now and then tripping over a pig or a dog. Whenever we came to an orange tree, someone would climb it, to come down with a handful of little, green fruits, so poisonous to look at, and so very sweet and refreshing to eat. They dragged out specimens of all their pottery, and at last lead me with some pomp to a house in which a woman was at work. The good wife did not in the least understand this visit, and was not at all sure that she liked it. All the men clamoured at her at once, telling her to come out and be photographed. Finally she brought her clay and unbaked pots, setting all in the sun, still a little bit afraid that this meant some new Ladino imposition. She set to work as though finding some relief from her embarrassment in the occupation.

- 323 She formed the base of her pot rapidly in a saucer-like clay form, *hutstahibe* ("rest"). When the bottom was finished, she took it out and laid it on a broad leaf. The work progressed surprisingly quickly and without pause, the potter's hands moving with great speed and precision; the slapping sound as she patted the clay into position was unceasing. The clay was put on in slabs and built upwards, contrary to the coiling technique of the Southwest, the bowl on its leaf being turned rapidly as she worked around the sides. The finishing was done with her hands. The completed bowl was symmetrical, but not very smooth. It was then set in the sun to dry (fig. 298).

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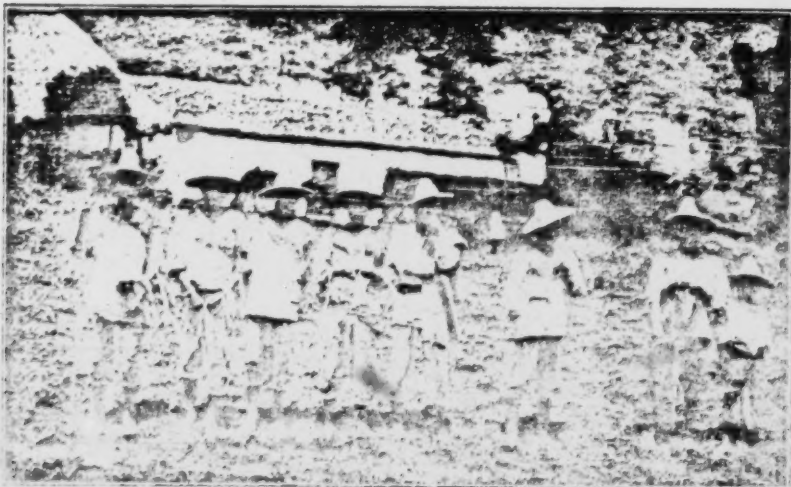


FIG. 298.—Sivacá, Chiá. The men of the town with the Alcalde on the left.

- 323 The larger forms are started in a flat, gourd dish, and the *tacts* bowls (see below) in an ordinary drinking gourd. Large tubs, when drying, are protected by leaves covering the rim, and are placed on leaves in the gourd dishes used as forms. The leaves are to prevent their drying too quickly and cracking. When cracks do occur, they are filled in with fresh clay. After enough pots are ready, there is a baking, apparently a community affair. I was told that the pottery was ranged in a line, the pine-fuel being laid up in an A-roof over it, forming a long tunnel, through which the draft ensures a brisk fire. One would expect from such a process that the vessels would be much blackened from contact with the fuel, which was not the case in the new ones that I examined, all having an even

red-gold colour. The baking observed at Amatenango, which is described in the following chapter, was quite different. 323

The forms made at Sivacá are: (Fig. 299) a tub, *pok'et*; cooking pots or *ollas*, *öcom*; form for making cooking pots, *hutstahibe*; bowl, *tsets*; stand for bowl, *awaliko*; form for making sugar, with a hole in the bottom, *hor'mo*; tortilla griddle, *tsamets*; and a perforated olla for washing corn, *tcistcinair*.

The Bachajon make most of these also, but the tub and clay *tsets* are rare, a gourd often serving for the latter. The surfaces are less well smoothed. In no case was any attempt at decoration observed. It should be noted in this respect, however, that almost all of these would eventually be quite blackened with smoke.



FIG. 299—Sivacá, Chia. Woman making pottery.

Among the forms shown in the figures, it will be noticed that there is no piece with a markedly contracted neck; such work seems to be beyond their abilities. All through this district the big *cantaras* or water jars are imported from Tenango, and will be discussed in the next chapter.

In general throughout Ocosingo Valley white cloth for men's clothes and women's blouses, made of native cotton, *na'*, as well as the men's sashes, are of local manufacture. Among the Bachajon, cloth is comparatively little woven, but sashes are always home made. The coloured thread is usually bought in stores. Weaving is entirely done by the women. 286 (291)

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[291]
[302]
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286 Our Indian hostess at the Encanto house was commissioned to
126 make us a sash; after observing and photographing the process (fig.
123 300), we bought the loom with the unfinished piece on it. At Sivacá
the army of guides produced a woman who was weaving cloth, and
another who was just preparing the thread for the loom (fig. 301).
The former was very bored and matter-of-fact about the whole pro-



286 ceeding, but the latter, a younger one, was at first frightened. At
126 the first sight of me, she put away all her work. As she spoke no
123 Spanish, I fell back upon a corps of seven or eight interpreters, who
all spoke together while I looked as harmless as possible. Then she
thought that the Mayor of Ocosingo, or the President of Mexico, or
some one had sent for her, and packed her things to travel. At last



FIG. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Woman Weaving.

she understood, and then balked. The men explained to me, with some amusement, that she was ashamed—"dice que tiene verguenza"—but finally she consented to pose. The result was a picture worth the while; she herself was a good type of young Indian woman, on her back was slung a pretty though somewhat grimy baby, while an underfed puppy and very small chicken completed the family group. The picture also shows a good example of the squatting-seat mentioned when listing the contents of the Encanto house (see fig. 301).

283 The spindle, *pētēt*, is a stick 85 centimeters long, at the foot of which is a clay whorl, for which no name was given. It is spun with the weighted end resting in a gourd bowl, the upper end held against

the thigh. The spinning is done with the left hand, the right holding and drawing out the thread, *tsahalna'* (fig. 302-d).

The thread is then arranged for the warp on a form called *kumen* (fig. 302-c). This is a pole 1.40 meters long, notched at intervals on one side, and with a groove in one end joining two unnotched sides. In one of the notches, according to the length of thread desired,

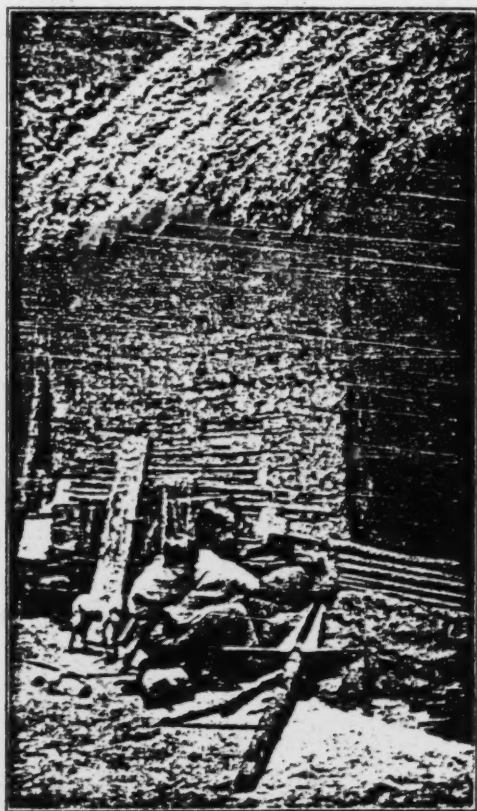


FIG. 301—Sivaca, Chi. Woman Winding Thread.

is placed a cross stick, *tumin-te*, (equals *kumen-te?*), 45 centimeters long. The thread is laid from one end of this cross stick, through the groove, around to the other end of the cross stick, and so, back and forth, until the required number of woof-strands are prepared. The loops around one half of the cross stick are then transferred to the head-stick of the loom, those around the other to the foot-stick, and the woof is ready. At the head end, the loops are braided for the selvage.

The loom, *holël*,* has no rigid frame. The woof is stretched over the head and foot-sticks, *wolol-te*. The head-stick is fastened to a beam in the house or to a branch, usually more than a meter above the ground. Before this the weaver sits, with the foot-stick strapped to her by a broad leather strap, *ku'epat*, thus holding the set-up taut (fig. 303). At a little distance below the head-stick, the woof-strands are crossed, those underneath being carried on top, and held in place

**holël* is one of a large class of words ending in -*ol*, -*el*, or -*il*, which are at once verbal nouns and infinitives; e. g. *tsal-el*, to come, or the act of coming, corresponding to the Latin *venire* and *veniendo*. *hol-el* primarily means to weave, here it is also applied to the loom.

283

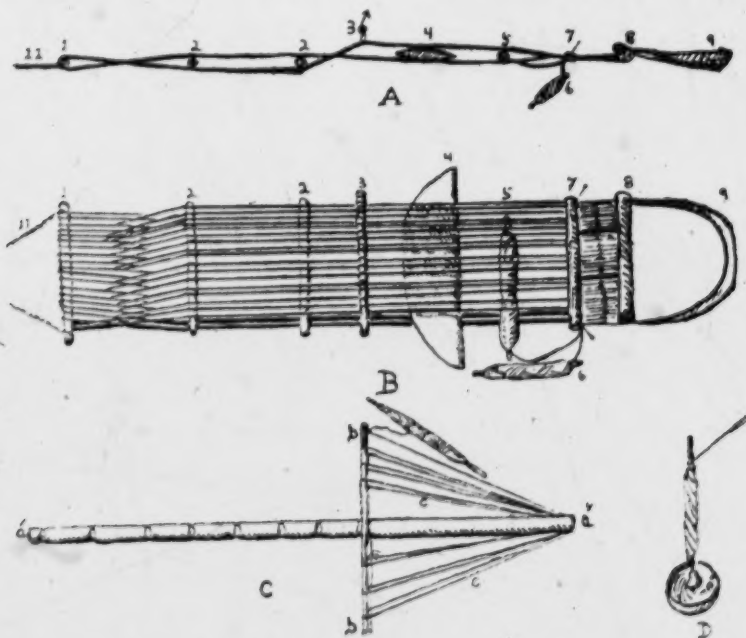
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[193]

286 by a stick called *wolol-te* at El Encanto, and *ibal-te* at Sivacá. The former name was probably obtained through faulty questioning, as it is also applied to the head and foot-sticks. *Wolol-* may be derived from *hol-*, in which case the word would simply mean "stick for weaving" (*-te*, "stick, tree, wood"), and would be applicable to any part of the loom. Below these two is a heddle, *yolala*, attached by



[283]
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FIG. 209—Weaving Implements.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| A. Side view of loom. | 4. Batten, <i>halawil-te</i> . | 8. <i>Wolol-te</i> . |
| 1. <i>Wolol-te</i> . | 5. Shuttle, <i>tiomal</i> . | 9. <i>Ku'vat</i> . |
| 2. <i>Ibal-te</i> . | 6. Shuttle, <i>tiomal</i> . | b. <i>Tumen-te</i> . |
| 3. Heddle, <i>yolala</i> . | 7. <i>Wolol-te</i> . | c. Warp strands. |
| | | D. Spindle. |

cotton loops to the lower set of warp-strings. Below this is sometimes set another separating stick, *tutuhil*. The pounding batten, *halawil-te*, is inserted at this point. At Sivacá a wooden comb *holaIII*, was also used. As the woven part becomes long, it is rolled up around the foot-stick, thus keeping the work easily within the weaver's reach. That part which is woven but not rolled up is held

stretched flat by a stick with thorns in the end, also said to be called *wolol-te*. The string for tying up the head-stick is called *tsul*. (See fig. 302-A, B). 286

The different coloured threads are wound on shuttles, which are called *buk'al* when bare, *tional* when wound. These are passed back and forth between the warp-strands, with an alternate raising and lowering of the heddle. The threads not in use at the moment are laid parallel to the outermost woof-strand at the selvage. Cross-stripes are thus made with the warp, longitudinal stripes with coloured woof-strands.

The shape of the loom depends upon the article to be woven. A sash-loom is about 40 centimeters wide. A cloth-loom is about 75 centimeters wide, and usually not as long as the sash-loom; the sword is a meter in length. The sword at Sivacá was of a heavy

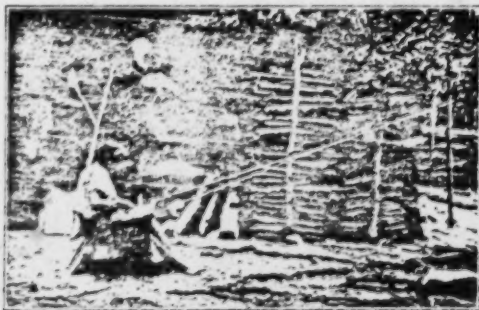


FIG. 302—SIVACÁ, CHIS. Woman Weaving.

wood, very smooth, and dark with much handling. We were told that the wood was not indigenous, and that such swords were very valuable, as they could not be obtained any more. The one seen in use was borrowed from another woman, who refused to sell it.

Cloth for clothes is ordinarily woven plain white, but is sometimes varied with fine lines laid in the woof. The Bachajon weave relatively little cloth, being more accustomed to buy cotton at the stores; their sashes, however, show more variety and use of colour than do those of Ocosingo Valley.

Hats and baskets, *mOc*, are made by the men. The former have already been described. 285
[462]

Baskets are woven on a frame of heavy splints laid crossing each other at the center. These are bent upward, leaving a sufficient length flat to provide for the bottom. The warp of reeds is then woven in and out, in a simple wicker-work, around the bottom and sides. At the top the splints are doubled over and tucked down under the strands. The rim is formed of two strands twisted around each other between each splint. The work is not very fine, there

285 being an average of only three strands to a centimeter, with the splints about three centimeters apart. Ordinarily the widest part of the basket is at the rim, but a very small basket, *tutemOtc*, was observed, in which the greater diameter was about half-way up the side. The weave was the same. The standard large size is 28 centimeters high, 36 centimeters diameter at the rim, and 13 at the base (fig. 304).

286 The men also make the nets, *tcotcaH*, which are used, suspended from one shoulder, as a pocket, or, slung from a tump-line, to carry small burdens. They are made of hennequen or ixtila cord. The mouth is an extra heavy string, from which the woven part of the net hangs (fig. 305). The method of laying the cord was observed

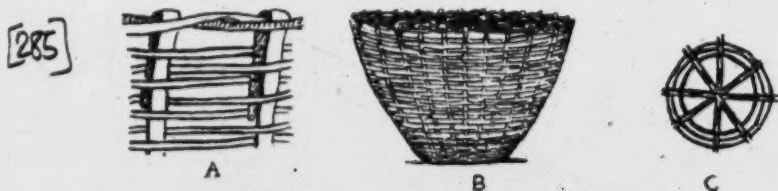


FIG. 304—Basketry. A. Detail of weave showing finish of rim.
B. Basket, height 28 c.m.
C. Arrangement of splints at the bottom.

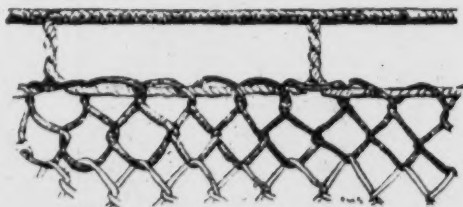


FIG. 305—Detail of Net.

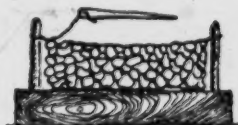


FIG. 306—Frame for weaving net.

at Cancuc. The istla threads are held in the crotch of the left knee, and the cord is wound on the thigh with a flat-hand, rubbing motion. A bundle of threads laid parallel to each other, is taken by the middle and rolled into the already made cord, forming two strands. When the strands are ready, they are laid together with a reverse-stroke of the hand on the thigh. The net is woven with a deer-horn needle, *muk*, on a frame, *tiaH*, consisting of a board about 18 centimeters long with an upright stick at each end (fig. 306). The actual weaving was not observed.

322 Considering that their only tools are their machetes, and an occasional cheap pocket knife, the wood-working done by the men is

remarkable. They make combs of one piece of wood, averaging 15 centimeters long, 8 wide, by 4 millimeters thick. The teeth are cut out of one of the long sides, running back less than half-way into the body of the piece. These teeth may be as fine as two in three millimeters, or as coarse as two in five millimeters; sometimes they are graded. The back is slightly arched. On the ends a piece of wood is left uncut, usually about four millimeters wide. The shape is not unlike the small Japanese combs to be found in most of our curio stores. The best examples are made from mahogany, chosen with a nice feeling for the effect of the grain. They are not worn, but used for combing the hair. 322
412

They make violins which are small copies of the European type. The instrument and bow are known by their Spanish names, *violina* and *arcilla*. The body is about 26 centimeters in greatest length and width; the neck, *tsutsuH-te*, projects about 30 centimeters. Save for a decoration of wavy lines on the back, the violin looks like a cheap toy fiddle. The strings, *tcucuir*, are of *mico de noche* (night-walking lemur) gut, save the G-string, which is of the usual type, bought in the towns. The bow-strings are of horse-hair treated with rosin. The tone is poor, lacking resonance. 534
322

One tobacco pipe, *bum*, was observed, which was a remarkable piece of whittling (fig. 307). It was about 14 centimeters long, made of one piece of mahogany, and apparently modeled after the American corn-cobs occasionally seen among the Ladinos. The bowl was roughly rounded, with a flat bottom. The stem was round, with a step in it at the middle, in imitation of the step in the mouth-piece of an ordinary pipe. The tube 276
322



FIG. 307.—Pipe.

had been hollowed out with a hot wire. The tin-foil cap over the cork of a *Habanero* bottle had been hammered onto the base of the bowl, and two strips of tin-foil laid around the stem, each held on with a brad. It may be mentioned that the mahogany coloured prettily from handling and smoking, and that the flavour was sweet.

Stools, with three legs let into a single, round piece, and rather rickety tables on the same principle, but four-legged, are made by the men, as well as the squatting-seats mentioned in describing the house. 352
322

Game furnishes an important part of the Indian's food supply. Wild boar, deer, howler monkey, *faisan*, *cojolite*, dove, and quail are hunted for food. The various large cats, alligator, lemurs, and many of the larger snakes are sought for their hides, which form a considerable article of trade. The chief weapon used in hunting is 224

352.

TRIBES AND TEMPLES

224 The Chief weapon used in hunting is
411 the muzzle-loading smooth-bore gun, really a shot-gun, usually loaded with shot. Both flint-locks and percussion caps are known, and occasionally match-locks are made by the Indians themselves, the barrels being bought in the towns, or taken from old guns. Powder is carried in a cow's horn, which sometimes also serves as a flask.

[669] Wild boar is sometimes hunted with spears, *mojara*, made of sticks with points hardened in the fire, although iron-headed spears are known, having been used in the Uprising of 1868. The latter form, however, does not appear to be made at present. Spears left over from the Uprising are highly valued and cannot be bought. That they were brought out of hiding during a period of unrest at Bachajon in 1915 is considered one of the proofs that a real revolt was planned at that time.

224 Dogs take part in the chase, their use being connected with some
231 curious superstitions. It is a common practice in Mexico to cut a

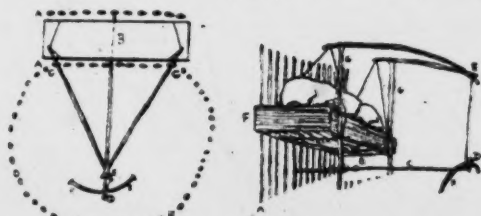


FIG. 308.—Deadfall, from a rat trap at El Encanto, Chis.
A. Plan. B. Sketch of essential parts.

224 piece off a dog's ear and keep it in the house if he shows a tendency
231 to roam, or to go hunting alone. If he will not follow a trail, a similar piece is cut off and thrown on it. The Indians keep jaw-bones or other trophies of animals killed with the dogs' help hung in a conspicuous place under the eaves of the house; the object being to remind the dogs of their achievements, and to keep them from losing heart during a period of no hunting.

223 Birds, as well as being hunted, are caught with snares and with limed twigs.

224 Dead-falls, *yakul*, are used to trap animals, both for game, and to protect the fields. They are substantially all of one pattern, the drawing for which was taken from a rat-trap in the house at El Encanto (fig. 308). The deadfall consists essentially of a log, F, weighted with stones, held suspended in two slings, which hang from the ends of two sticks, EE, resting over two forked uprights, GG. The two sticks cross each other at the further end, where they are

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 tied by a string carried down to an arched stick, H, stuck in the ground. This string, by holding down the far ends, counterbalances the weight of the fall at the other ends. At the end of the string the cross-stick, D, holds it against the arch; it, in turn, is held by the trigger, C, one end of which braces against it, the other end against the far side of the trap, passing under the deadfall. A circular fence of sticks prevents an animal from getting at the outer part of the trap. A straight fence on the other side of the fall necessitates its entering through the entrance, AA, to get at the bait, B, on the trigger. The animal dislodges the trigger, releasing D and with it the string. The outer ends of the sticks fly up, and the weighted log falls. In the rat trap, the log and stones came to at least three kilograms, arranged to fall through a space of about ten centimeters, other traps being in proportion.

When hunting with a gun, a red fruit called *ahoon* is frequently (824) rubbed on the shot, and *palma bendita*, *teul-têc-wil can*, the palm used in church decorations, is used for the wad. This prevents the bullet "from getting tired" before it reaches its mark.

Meat obtained while hunting, if it cannot be carried immediately (25) to the house, is dried on a rack, *tear*.

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 The primary method of carrying goods of all kinds is by the tump-line, for which, as has been said in the discussion of physical and other characteristics, these people are very well adapted. The tump-line, *pak*, is a broad strip of inner bark, or of cow-hide. For their ordinary uses, this is a single strip, the ends being attached to a net (q. v.) of their own manufacture. When a package too bulky for the net is carried, a long strap is used with the ends tied together. This is looped through itself, around the package, so that it hangs in two slings. Additional straps may be attached to the line where it passes over the ears, to wrap around the sides of the burden. A flat piece of cowhide, *teokHax*, is worn against the back, to protect the carrier from the chafing of his load. Both men and women use the tump-line, the carrying of objects on the head being unusual.

Formerly the Indians of this district are said to have owned a (492) good many mules and horses for packing, which they lost during (978) the recent political disturbances. Many of them know something about packing. At present, however, few if any own cattle of any kind.

The highland rivers do not, on the whole, lend themselves to (487) water travel, although the Bachajon territory reaches to the Bascan, Tulija, and other more amenable water-ways. Canoes are known only (581) as introductions of German or Ladino ranchers. The natives use a

501 raft, *poi*, to cross rivers or make very short trips. The specimen observed at *Hol-ha'* (Head of the Water), was made of five cork logs averaging 22 centimeters in diameter and 3.25 meters long, held together by two cross-sticks lashed on with lianas. There was some space between each log, the width of the raft being 1.25 meters. It had a definite bow and stern, the logs at the forward end being cut to an edge, "to cut the water." These rafts are propelled by a pole, preferably of mahogany, the one observed being 2.50 meters long. They are moored by thrusting the pole through a crack between two of the logs, into the bottom of the stream.

648 As one would expect, the old, complicated organization of priests and rulers, the aristocracy of pre-Conquest days, has been utterly swept away. Today, in their social organization, one may trace a little of the feeling of the old times, but the system is the creature of Spanish contact. On the haciendas there are no native officials save those who preside over the fiestas. The owner of the hacienda maintains a patriarchal sway over his workmen, governing them in every respect. Among the village tribes at Bachajon and Sivacá life is still influenced by the obligation to work for the government or the ranchers, although the independent nature of the Indians has won for them a good deal of self-government. Those of the Bachajon living on land belonging to ranches find themselves under a dual system, although the scattered location of their dwellings, deep in the jungles, minimizes the power of the Ladinos.

621 The tribes are very different from those of North America. From our brief observation, it appears as though there was none of that deep feeling of loyalty towards the group, of essential, almost mystic unity with the other members that characterizes our own Indians. Similar customs, common interest, and geographical proximity hold each Tzeltal group together; bonds that are easily broken.

[609] Should an outsider attack the common weal by seizure of land or
[578] by any other infringements, he will find the tribe solidly united
627 against him, but at the same time it may be, and often is divided within itself by many quarrels. The Bachajon carry out long feuds between families and individuals in the form of occasional murders. These have their origin in delayed retribution for some wrong received by one party from the other, for which, in turn, there is retaliation, and so on indefinitely.

648 For instance, the murder committed while we were at Encanto was the climax of a long-nursed grudge, and almost immediately afterwards there were indications that from that fight would arise many others. Occasional attacks on ranchers are also usually carried

out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders. 648

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an unusual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile. 628

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the deserted village that bears their name. It was described at the beginning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo. 621
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The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination. 829

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination. 593
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[672]

- 621 Bachajon and Sivacá are governed through native officials selected from among the men of repute in the tribe by the Mexican Government, more or less in accordance with the Indians' wishes. They serve for definite terms, usually two years, and may be re-appointed. Bachajon Village, organized when the whole tribe was concentrated there, has two complete administrations, each with a president, council, and secretary. At Sivacá the only official is the *alcalde*, who carries as insignia a staff, *barra*, 1.50 meters long, decorated with a double cross in black at the head. The secretaries [212] are chosen primarily for literacy; the others are older men of influence in the tribe. The great respect with which they are treated by the natives indicates that the selections accord fairly well with those they would make themselves.
- 648 Each group is in the charge of a resident Mexican official called 651 the *Maestro*, corresponding to our Reservation Agent. He is appointed by the Presidente Municipal of the local government. He is paid with taxes collected by himself from the Indians in produce or money, to which he adds commissions obtained from his services as a labour agent, the profits of trade in a few staples, and receipts from travelers, for whom his house is the official guest-house.
- 648 Ordinarily the *Maestro* does not give his orders directly to the 622 Indians, but works through the native president, who may openly 621 oppose him if he see fit, though he is in some degree bound to obey. The influence and power of the *Maestro* depends upon the individual, and on the temper of the Indians under him. In extreme cases he will send for troops, a measure greatly dreaded, as the soldiers, once arrived, may stay indefinitely, helping themselves freely to the pigs and chickens of the natives, and generally making themselves objectionable.
- 648 In addition to those appointed by the Government, the Indians 622 accord obedience and respect to a considerable body of purely 624 native officials. The only ones fulfilling a civic function are the class known as *Principales*, who exist chiefly among the Bachajon. They are men who know how to read and write Spanish, living in places more available to the outlying Indians than the Secretaries at Bachajon Village, and are usually men in whom confidence is reposed. Although they hold their position without official selection, but by general consent, they are recognized by the Mexicans with whom they deal as holding a sort of power of attorney for their people. They examine and sign written documents, and compose communications from the Indians to the Government. Through this they gain an influence with which, if they be men of force, they may become leaders of real power in their own districts. A *Principale* whom we met at El Encanto, where he had come in to buy salt, was

NATIVE OFFICIALS

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the informal chief of one of the semi-separated, turbulent groups already described. He was a well-built, square-faced, sullen yet cunning looking fellow, with a long scar from a machete cut across one cheek, and credited with a number of murders.

The shamans or medicine-men, *poci'*, although primarily doctors, have a quasi-priestly status, the result of the intimate relation of prayer and healing, of which more will be said later. They are honored accordingly as holy men, as well as for the power conferred by their knowledge of medicine and charms. A shaman obtains his position by some years of study under another, who teaches him both medicines and prayers. His repute largely depends upon the results of his practice.

Certain older men are selected annually to have charge of the fiestas, or saint's day celebrations; they have charge of all preparations and of the conduct of the fiesta, as well as being usually responsible for the care of the various sacred properties during the year. These officers exist in the hacienda groups as well as in the tribes. At the Finca Tecojá, where a fiesta was observed in progress, they were an amiable pair of rather drunken old men, known as *Caporales*, and at most places, in common with other officers holding posts of Spanish derivation, they were known by Spanish names. Interestingly enough, in the villages with the Governmental organization described above, they rarely coincide with the Government appointees, although this may be partly due to the fact that they are usually selected from among the oldest men. In Guatemala these semi-church officers often are a mask for tribal positions of real power, as was found to be the case with the *tcimañ* of Jacaltenango, who will be described in writing of that place (Chapter XIX). Here their influence and prestige was relatively slight, save during the period when their duties placed them in charge.

Almost the only trace of pre-Conquest feeling is to be found in the great reverence shown towards all shamans and Government appointees. An ordinary Indian will offer food, drink, or tobacco to all men of authority present before taking anything himself; even though it means the consumption, for instance, of almost all of a bottle of *aguardiente* before he gets any at all. We saw a chief at Tenango, where the same system prevails, take a lighted cigar from an Indian's mouth, giving him instead some unrolled tobacco leaves. When first coming into the presence of such men, or passing them on the road, an Indian will take off his hat, bowing deeply; the chief or shaman touches the Indian's forehead, and he goes on. This is performed with grace and dignity. It is known as *k'ol-tanup*, "head giving" (*k'ol* from *hol*, head). Instances were observed of thus

TRIBES AND TEMPLES

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554 "giving the head" to certain elder women, but the reason could not
576 be ascertained.

581 Marriage is an economic and social affair, apparently free of religious significance. Don Arturo Tovilla of Cacate-el, gave us a description of the manner of seeking a wife, which is here paraphrased. It will be seen that the importance, ceremonially, centers on the contract with the parents, while the actual joining in marriage is not stressed.

584 The boy's father goes with the boy to the girl's house, both dressed in their best clothes, and carrying a gift of three bottles (pints) of aguardiente "and some animal." His father tells the girl's father that his son wishes to marry the daughter; to which the answer is to call the girl and ask her if she likes him. She says nothing, but keeps on scratching the wall with her finger and the floor with her toe, thereby indicating that she likes the boy, while showing the proper maidenly modesty. The latter gives her a coloured handkerchief, pearl beads, etc., with which the contract is sealed.

The boy is obligated to bring to her house what the father may ask, such as corn, beans, aguardiente, as well as to help in the work for a year. He makes a social visit each Sunday, which the girl must receive. At the end of the time appointed by the parents, he takes her to his house.

If the girl does not signify her consent in the manner described, the match does not take place.

583 When the parents of one or both parties do not countenance the match, it may happen that the children, taking the law into their own hands, run away. The procedure in this case has become formalized so that, while unpleasant enough to act as a deterrent, it recognizes this as a regular manner of marrying. This description also is paraphrased from Señor Tovilla.

[115]

When the parents forbid, but both children desire the match, after the boy has gone to the girl's house and been refused, his obligation of respect is ended. He builds a house in a retired place in the jungle. He and the girl meet to make their plans where she goes to get water, for which purpose she may often choose a spring a kilometer or more from her house. At an appointed time, they run away.

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When he has carried her off and hidden her, his parents must go and apologize to hers. The girl's father tells the boy's not to leave before being punished. He, however, finds and brings in the couple, who kneel before the girl's parents. The boy's shirt is taken off, and

MARRIAGE

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he is whipped by the girl's father for a thief. The girl is stripped to the waist and whipped by her mother. With this the marriage is legalized. As the first act of their true married life, the girl makes posole and offers it to her parents. The boy is under obligation to bring presents of bread, chocolate, aguardiente, etc., to his parents-in-law. 584 585

There are no formal restrictions of marriage, but the Church exercises a general influence against wedding brother and sister, cousins, or other relatives forbidden by Christian doctrine. In this, owing to the disposition of the Indians, and to the purely tribal character of marriage, which is not regarded by them as a religious or governmental matter, the Church is only partially successful. Informal unions actually do occur between brother and sister, apparently without any ceremony, the pair merely continuing to live together, their family relationship slowly changing into that of a married couple. That such a wife's status has some regularity in their eyes is shown by the fact that she has the same position in funeral rites as an ordinary wife. 582 127 128 588

It is probably due to the negative influence of the Church that the various important crises in the life of an individual, ordinarily marked by such colourful ceremonies among primitive people, here are distinguished by very little of ritualistic observance. For description of the main events in the life course, we were again dependent on Señor Tovilla, whose information, given with little change below, checked entirely with the result of other inquiries. The funeral ceremonies were observed at first hand, after the fight described at El Encanto; for them, accordingly, I have used my own notes. 115 126

When a woman is about to give birth to a child, a midwife—an older woman with some knowledge of herbs—is summoned. A few days before parturition, the woman is carefully tended by the midwife, well fed with choice food, and provided with a little rum. At the moment of giving birth, the midwife prays that the child may be brought forth happily. The mother kneels, and the midwife prepares to receive the child with a new cloth. Meantime the father is told to stay outside the house, or may be allowed to help in minor matters. 844

It is said that at Tenejapa the women go out into the woods to give birth untended, coming back with the child.

The baby is given Christian baptism. 852

A child's soul is considered to be particularly delicate, and therefore liable to magic influence. If the people of the house must go 789 [774]

789 away, leaving it alone, an ear of yellow corn is left with it, that its soul may not be stolen. There is an interesting parallel here with
 [17] the ear of corn as a "ceremonial mother" in the Southwestern United States. If somebody expresses too strong admiration of a child, fire must be passed near it, or spittle rubbed over its forehead; otherwise the baby will become ill. Infants are particularly susceptible to the evil eye. To cure one that has been thus cursed, a female shaman is summoned, who passes a whole egg all over the baby's body. This is then opened, and the evil eye will be seen (by the shaman) in the yolk of the egg. They throw the egg into the river, or bury it in a secret place. Almost this same belief was found in Chontal of Tabasco. (Customs of San Fernando, Chapter VI, Volume I).

868 Children's education is simple and direct. As soon as a boy is old enough to work at all—at about five years of age—he is given a worn-down machete and set to cutting and hauling wood. From then on, following his father, he learns the man's duties. Girls are started with a miniature metate, grinding corn.

872 The Government maintains some public schools, such as at Bachajon Village, in which a few children learn to read and write, but in general great difficulty is found in obtaining scholars. As soon as they are old enough to study, they are strong enough to be of material help in the house and the farm; the parents do not like to relinquish what represents the interest on the investment of the price paid by the father for marriage, and the expense of the children's early years. Under the present administration, however, efforts to educate the Indians are being pushed as never before.

881 Puberty is attended by no observances of any kind. Marriage,
 582 which comes fairly early, has been previously described.

764 At death the ceremonial side is greatly emphasized. The funeral rites combine the idea of mourning with a general belief that the soul of the departed lingers for a brief time about his former domicile. When possible, the house of the deceased is abandoned for a short time, during which period, if any small animal is observed about the house, particularly at night, it is supposed to be his soul. No particular powers are ascribed to the soul, as far as could be found out, but it is considered poor company.

As it happened, a man was killed while we were at the Finca Encanto, whose funeral rites we could observe. His wife began mourning for him almost immediately—this being in the middle of the afternoon. His body was taken to another house, neighbour to his own. The true ceremonies began after nightfall. Accompanied
 [123] by Lazaro and Señor Aguilar, the writer went up with a gift of

candles for the wife; we had previously sent flowers. The family, being poor, were very glad of our contribution. When we arrived the scene was lighted by one tall candle and the glow of a low fire, mostly coals, with a few weak flames flickering across it. The body was laid out, wrapped in all its clothes and then in a mat bound with cords, forming a bundle more or less resembling a mummy. At its head was a cross, on top of which flickered the solitary candle. The family and neighbours were crowded into the house, the women sitting on the floor about the body, their heads covered with black shawls; behind them the men made themselves as comfortable as possible. They brought such musical instruments as they possessed. The family provided rum. At the dead man's feet squatted his wife, her face almost completely covered by the black shawl. [264] [23]

The wife rocked to and fro, from a squatting to a kneeling position, alternately laying her clasped hands on the pall, and holding them to her eyes, keening. She gasped out a few broken words, half choked with sobs, then let her speech rise higher and higher, crescendo, to a wail that broke off with a half-sob, half-gasp. Thus she went on, falling into a chanting rhythm, which the other women joined spasmodically. The men talked in low tones, and played faintly on their instruments, more or less in time with her. The packed place was very warm, and had the acrid, smoky smell of many Indians.

Later, drinking went on, and the visitors danced, as at any ceremonial. The keening was maintained all night.

When we brought our candles, the woman stopped her mourning long enough to hustle the men, who were slow in setting them on the cross, then she took up again.

The body may be interred the following day in a burying-ground, or in the floor of the house. The former custom, observed at El Encanto, is probably due to outside influence. In that case, the body was carried on a plank by four men. A few more men came along to help, and the wife and three or four women followed. The men wore clean clothes, and had left their machetes behind. Only the wife wore a black shawl, which must have been hot in the sun at high noon, when the procession took place. She continued her keening, and carried a lighted candle. Whenever the pall-bearers laid the body down to rest, she fanned flies away with the dead man's hat. [177]

The grave was well dug, about five feet deep, without regard for orientation. After being lowered into it, the ropes binding the body were cut, that the dead man might rise freely on judgment day. Lumps of dirt and rocks were laid on to hold the mat in place.

764 While this went on, all the women joined with the wife in keening, forming a sort of harmony. A cross was placed at the head. After the grave had been filled in, the party returned to the house where the mourning was carried on in all respects as on the previous night.

The wake is called *kanantay-el tca-vinik*, "to watch over (the) dead man." For the second ceremony, the only name obtained was *van-tik pas yan kin*, "let us go to make another ceremony."

It should be noted that in the case observed, the wife maintained her keening, without apparent cease, from before sunset of one day, through the next day and until the morning following. She was audible, on her high notes, at least five hundred yards away; this was no mean feat of endurance.

On the trail to Bachajon Village, several ruined houses were observed with burials in the floor. The graves were outlined by planks set into the ground vertically. We were told that the dead were buried under their beds, and that a house was abandoned after the number of burials came to be "too much for them." This latter statement is borne out by the frequent occurrence of as many as three graves in one house, occupying most of the floor.

771 In common with most of the Indians of Middle America, the religion of the Tzeltal is a mixture of Catholic Christianity with considerable emphasis on saint-worship, and of their old cults. The surface presents fairly pure Christianity, but further examination shows that the deeper religious current is of an older form, altered by Christian contact. The Indians' attitude towards the newer religion is interestingly stated by Sapper (1925) who says:

"The relation of the Christian God to the remaining pagan gods may briefly be explained by the fact that the Christian God has a higher rank, but, as a foreigner, he cares less for the Indians and does not understand their petty troubles and intimate affairs. This is why the Indian turns to his old gods first in matters of everyday life, as for example when the maize is sown, and at harvest time . . ."

000 The same idea was brought out in the Zotzil uprising of 1868, when a boy was crucified to provide the Indians with a saviour of their own race, who would help them.*

796 Each village or ranch-settlement has and observes its Saint's Day, the celebration centering around the church, and whenever possible a Priest attends and gives Mass. Other fiestas are held on minor Saint's Days, or events such as the coming of a Priest to the

*Pineda. 1888. Page 77.

village. In common with all ceremonial celebrations, these fiestas are called *k'in*, the old Maya word for "sun." Even non-Christian elements appear in the fiestas. The Bachajon call their chief fiesta, St. Jerome's Day, May 13th, *kan-k'in*, "yellow sun," an old Maya month name.

On many points one cannot say whether the ritual be Christian or not; the use of the cross is such a point. The Mayas had a cross,* the worship of which was encouraged by the early Padres, while teaching the Indians to associate with it Christian ideas. Certain

it is that crosses now play a greater part in Indian than in Ladino religion. They are maintained on the roads at partings of the way and crests of hills, and they are used in ceremonies that have little or nothing to do with the Church. Crosses by the road are usually covered with offerings of flowers and pine tips; in the houses they are decorated with any bits of bright paper, flowers, or pictures that can be obtained. The house-altars seem to be more truly Christian, as is indicated by the names, *altar*, *tcun tat-ik*, "altar of our Holy Father," and *cruz tcun tat-ik*, "cross of our Holy Father," in both of which the most important word is Spanish. At the house by El Encanto we had a chance to

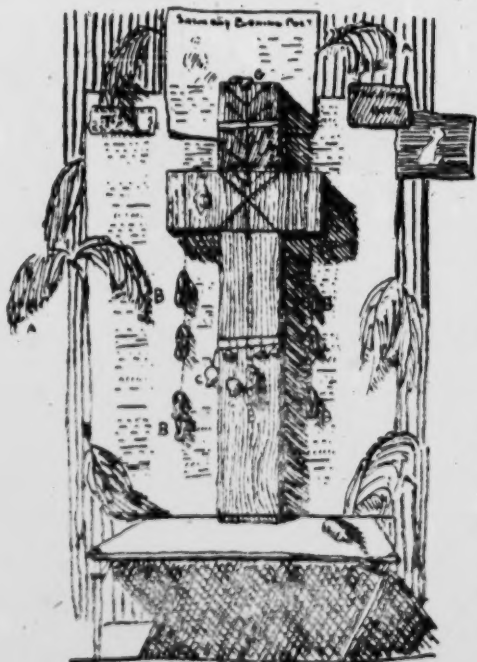


FIG. 300—El Encanto, Chis. Altar in House.

observe one such altar at leisure (fig. 300). It consisted of a neatly made cross, 75 centimeters high, standing above a small and rickety table. About the cross were fir branches, brought down from the highlands, and it was hung with cacao beans and small yellow gourds. A revenue stamp pasted across it gave a touch of more vivid green. The wall behind was entirely covered by a sheet of an old news-

778 paper, brightened with colour added by a cigarette package, a label from a tin of beets in a deep red, a joke in German about the fall of the mark, of which the prevailing tone was pure viridian, and a page of advertising from the Saturday Evening Post. We gave this family a chromo of a saint, which was immediately framed with a sort of wooden box, and set up beside the cross. The table below was used for laying odds and ends on, such as the spindle and a couple of empty aguardiente bottles.

782 Incense, *pom*, and candles, both extensively used by the Indians
788 today, had a place in the old Maya ritual similar to that of the
177 Catholic Church.
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793 The Priest is an important figure to the Indians. They come to him with respect to tell him their troubles, and receive him into their villages with rejoicing. At the same time, there is no doubt that they deliberately hoodwink him as to the orthodoxy of their faith.

796 Although it includes several non-Christian elements, a description of the fiesta observed at Tecojá will give a fair idea of the Tzeltal's church observances. Tecojá ranch has a village of about
(241) twenty houses attached to it. The fiesta was held on the twenty-
(648) second and twenty-third of June. By custom, the ranch had to allow the Indians this time off, as well as accepting the lowered efficiency on the following "cold grey dawn of the morning after." The owners had, moreover, to provide the rum for the whole celebration, in this case, two demi-johns.

The ranch chapel was thrown open and decorated with fir branches and streamers. The proceedings were in charge of two
(794) older men, called *caporales*, who were distinguished by a cross-belt-
ing of red handkerchiefs. One house was set aside for the celebrations, in front of which was a table and three triangular, crimson banners with gold edges. By these drumming and flute-playing went on irregularly. Here was the official dispensary for rum, which was given out by the *caporales*. Inside the house, a palm-thatched one with stick walls, about fifteen feet square, some thirty
(534) Indians, men and women, were squatting against the walls. There was an orchestra of a guitar and a mouth-organ, occasionally augmented by the piper, who would wander in from outside. This individual, although most amazingly drunk, managed to maintain his musical ability until he fell asleep. The tune they played was like
(533) a rather wistful jig, but the time was lively. To this four couples
(535) danced, the men facing the women, with a shuffling step not unlike waltzing. They kept very much in one place, but occasionally changed sides. The dancing was evidently a serious affair. This type is called in Spanish *zapatea*, in Tzeltal, *ahk'Out*.

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening. 796 [794]

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas, to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts. 771 772 773 771

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below. 776

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice. [77]

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a reminiscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here. 726 782 196

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT
MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here." [539]

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on 771 778 177

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1919.

771 spasmodically ever since. The temples and idols were overthrown,
 178 the theocracy, that knew the lore and could read the books, was
 179 killed off or reduced to the common level. The books themselves
 have vanished. At the same time, churches were built, and Christianity preached with a fine enthusiasm. Later, idols whenever discovered were destroyed, and all forms of heathenism vigorously opposed. This process has continued for some four hundred years. In other places less than half that time has sufficed to wipe out every vestige of an old cult, but here, not only had the Padres to deal with a race at least semi-civilized, supporting a sophisticated religion, but a people of remarkable, tenacious conservatism, and who, moreover, at all times have outnumbered their conquerors.

It must be borne in mind that the highly evolved, elaborate old-time religion could only be maintained in its purity by an educated people, men who could philosophize, study history, and read the stars with scientific accuracy. Obviously, what survives can only be in a simplified and debased form.

778 Most directly religious are certain places of worship retained by
 178 the Indians. The old Mayas are known to have used, of course, caves as well as their mounds and temples. Nuñez de la Vega* tells of such worship going on in his time, and according to Sapper† it continues in Guatemala today.

In Ocosingo Valley, the pyramids of Cololté (*kolol-te*, a kind of tree), Chakalchib (*chakaltap*, translation not known), and Campontik (*kan*, "yellow," *pom*, "incense," *-etik*, "much"), have been mentioned in the last chapter. They are all prehistoric places of worship. Their use by the Indians has been continued into modern times.

On top of Cololté the almost completely disfigured idol has already been described. It is decked with fir branches, and fir tips have been laid about its base. Before it in an arc stand wooden sticks to hold candles. The Indians do not come here at set periods as is usual elsewhere, but only when there is great need of rain.

Campontik, across from Cololté, was used annually until a short time ago. Their celebrations made so much uproar that finally a local Priest had them driven away, and the worship there has been discontinued. There is still a big, rotting cross set up on top, but there are no offerings or candlesticks.

Behind Ocosingo, Chakalchib is still a place of worship, where fiestas are held annually without benefit of clergy. A large pile of stone in the center of the platform supports one cross about the

*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702.
 †Sapper, 1890.

height of a man, and several other smaller ones in more or less dis-
 repair. On the northeast side is a fireplace. There are a few candle-
 sticks, some with traces of wax in them. Fir branches and tips,
 mostly withered, were piled so deeply as to indicate several years'
 deposits. According to description, Indians come here from far
 and near, to dance and drink as at any ceremony.

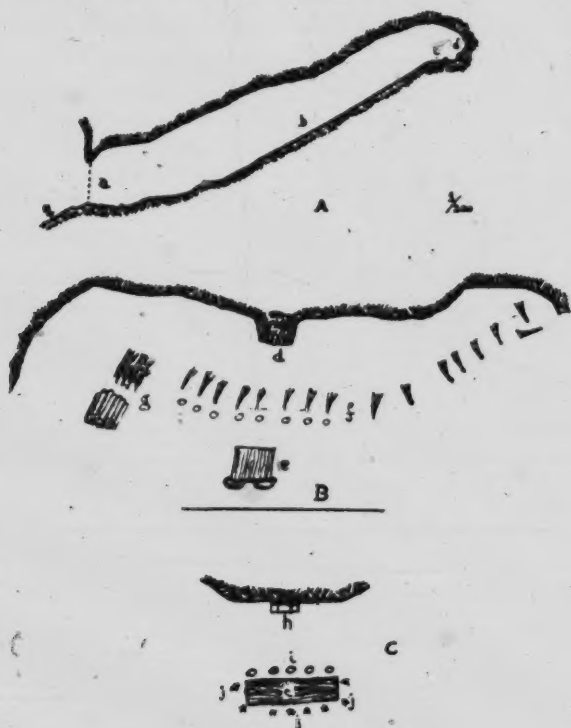


FIG. 310—Chacalchib, Chis. Altars.

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| A. Section of cave. | f. Pine tips and candle sticks. |
| a. Sleeping place. | g. Reserve pile of pine tips |
| b. Ascent. | and candle sticks. |
| c. Level place. | C. Plan of Second Altar. |
| d. Projection of rock. | h. Cross. |
| B. Plan of Altar. | i. Candle sticks. |
| e. Board for incense. | j. Pine tips set on end. |

More interesting than the top of the mound were two caves in its side, formed by the natural hollowing out of limestone outcrops near its base. The first of these had a small entrance, not high enough to stand up in, and just about large enough to give room for the grass bed and fire of which we found traces (fig. 310 a, b). From there the cave went up a few meters, and divided. The

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left-hand fork ended shortly. The right-hand one went on to a small level place, on which about four people could squat at once. The roof was too low to stand. In the end wall a block of rock about half a meter high and twenty centimeters broad stuck out. In front of it were eight small candlesticks in a row, a neat bundle of fir tips laid before each. More of these extended in an arc to the right, and there was a pile of spare tips and candlesticks at one side. Behind this was a square of bark resting on two stones, which showed signs of having had incense burned on it.

The second cave was more open, more of a room, high, and broken with pillars of limestone and dirt. It was caused partly by hollowing out limestone through the action of water, and partly by washing out the soil. In a quite open situation a small, square cross was leant against a rock. There was a flat board for incense, with five candlesticks on the side of the cross, and fir tips around the other three sides (see fig. 310 c).

These two caves, whether or not they were used in pre-Conquest days, do definitely represent the survival of a purely non-Christian manner of worship.

The general attitude of the Indians towards all the carvings of the Old People is not without interest. While they appear to attach no particular significance to the temples, they call all idols by the generic term of "santo." Thus the fine bas-relief found near San José Reforma, told of in the last chapter, was known to the natives as *Santo Ton*, "Saint Stone," or "Holy Stone."

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Distinct from worship at these archaeological sites are the offerings made to the "guardian," *yaHwal*, of the cornfields, a pure old Maya rite carried on in the modern fields. This is purely family matter, at which the head of the family officiates. A cross is set up, *atole* or *cocoposole* (*posole* with cocoa and sugar) and rum are offered in bowls, candles and incense are burned, and a chicken killed. The prayer quoted on page 365 is recited at this time. The offerings are only made at the time of planting the *milpa* in the spring, and suffice also for the fall *tonamil*. As nearly as we could find out, each field has its particular guardian, an idea which was shown by the case, to be described later when speaking of magic, of a man who took steps to gain the consent of a field's guardian before putting a curse on it.

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There is a guardian of the river, *yabahen*, and of the mountains, *hun ahau*. This last is of particular interest, corresponding as it does with the old Maya day-name signifying chief. Hun Ahau is mentioned in Landa, page 200, edition of 1864, as ruler of Mitamnal or hell. As Hunahpu he may be referred to in the Popol Vuh. Two

fragments of prayers to him will be given when discussing medicine. 776
Distinct from the guardian of the cornfields, he is known only by name to the ordinary Indians, and mention of him appeared to alarm them a good deal.

Drunkenness still retains some of its old, ceremonial significance. 293
in its association with fiestas, funeral rites, and particularly with medicine, under which head it will be more fully taken up.

There are a number of beliefs and practices, no matter what their origin, which, as they exist today, must be considered as superstitions rather than religion. Of such a type is the belief mentioned when speaking of hunting, that painting the bullet red would make it go further. This is of interest in the study of survivals, in view of the importance of the colour red in pre-Christian times. It may be equally well argued, however, that the red in this case represents the blood of the animal to be slain. Most of the superstitions are concerned with the *nagual* or the soul. 789
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The set of ideas that constitute Nagualism is derived from ancient and important beliefs. The *nagual*, *tcul-el* (*tcul*, "holy," -*el* "the, the one"), is a companion-spirit to a man, taking the form of some animal. The stronger the *nagual*, the stronger the man, thus one with a jaguar for a familiar could work any kind of magic or other harm on one with a rabbit. We were told both that the *nagual* was assigned by popular consent, due to people's opinion of a man, and that it was seen in a dream. A man who has a quarrel with another will deliberately shoot animals of the species of the other's *nagual*, hoping to hit the particular one associated with his enemy. If that one dies, the man dies, and vice versa. Thus, it is plain that there is no idea of association with a whole class of animals, but only with one individual of a class.

According to Nuñez de la Vega,* in the seventeenth century the *nagual* was assigned by a shaman, who took it from the name of the day on which the individual was born. The child was later caused to see his *nagual* . . . "se abrazan cariñosamente con su *nagual*, que por arte diabólica se le aparece muy doméstica y supersticiosamente cariñosa, aunque sea una bestia muy feroz, como leon, tigre, etc."† 776
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It is possible that further investigation would show a similar manner of choosing the *nagual* among the modern Tzeltal. How- 774
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*Nuñez de la Vega, 1702, loc. cit.
†Excerpt in Paniagua, 1909, Page 87.

How-
796 ever, much hinges on the difficult question of whether or not they
178 still possess the old calendar, without which the divination would be impossible. This will be spoken of again. On the whole, the Tzeltal do not show anything like the robust survivals of old religion that are found in Guatemala; in this respect, also, they have retained only a degenerated form.

776 Concerning the attitude of the Indian towards his *nagual*, two
756 stories may be told that have a certain interest. The first is an incident which occurred to us at Cacate-el, the ranch of Señor Tovilla in the Bachajon country. A Bachajon came in to complain that another Indian was casting spells on his fields and chickens. The other had taken a piece of dirt from his cornfield, so as "to gain consent of the guardian" (see above). He was making the corn wither and the chickens die. His power lay in his *nagual*, a *leon colorado* (*saxal-troq*), the most powerful that one can have. The Indian who complained had some much weaker familiar. We gave him a brilliant chromo of Saint Jerome with his lion; not only because St. Jerome is the patron of the Bachajon, but also because of the lion, obviously to him the Saint's *nagual*, which anyone could see was larger and more powerful than any known to the Indians. With this picture set up in his house, he felt that he could rest in safety.

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Señor Tovilla also passed on to us a story told him for true by an educated and trustworthy upper-class Mexican, an *abogado* (somewhat corresponding to the English solicitor). It is interesting for showing what is commonly believed even by the European people, although somewhat hard to accept. This man stopped at a Bachajon house, wherein he saw two old men sitting with their backs to each other, and two dogs fighting furiously on the floor. When he asked why they did not stop the fight, one of them answered:

"Our *naguales* are in those dogs, and my friend (*sic*) and I are fighting."

He went on to relate that, after the dogs gave up from exhaustion, both the men's faces were covered with black and blue marks.

[829] The Indians and their medicine men have succeeded to a remarkable degree in impressing the Ladinos with the reality and power of their magic, although it seems to be generally felt that it can only be used against themselves. Several very extraordinary stories were told to us by trustworthy people of more than the usual intelligence, and we were occasionally surprised at the reluctance of educated Ladinos to give information concerning native shamanism.

Because of the close relationship, the Indians try to keep secret their *nagual* lest an enemy should start hunting for it. Moreover,

to admit to having a weak one would admit weakness in magic and all other things, and set one's enemies immediately to work with the certainty of success.

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Although the idea prevails among the Ladino people of Chiapas that the *nagual* and the soul are the same, in reality they are quite distinct. The soul, *lap*, is conceived of as a separate possession, distinct also from the principle of life, both in its conception and etimologically ("life"—*kucul*). This soul is a delicate thing, easily lost, and the object of many ceremonial precautions. Apparently it dwells within the body, but may be jarred loose, or lost in whole or in part.

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Appropos of this, the Yocotan curse, given in Volume I, Chapter VI, a prayer to get hold of a man's soul, shows a similar idea. The damage is not done by catching the soul, but by the magic that may be worked on the man after it is caught. Save for the immortality which the Indian enjoys through it after death, his soul may be regarded as much more of a liability than an asset.

If an Indian falls down, the shock of the fall loosens his soul. He must lie where he is until his companions, or the next comers, place a circle of little crosses of grass about him. They then sweep up the trail behind him, gathering the dust and placing it in a heap by his head. On this the grass crosses are burned, and the Indian, inhaling the smoke, regains his soul.

It should be mentioned that these are a very sure-footed people, who seldom fall, and that no importance is attached to falling down when intoxicated.

In case of severe fright, the soul is also thought of as jarred loose. To cure this, an egg or a chicken is buried at the spot where the fright occurred. There is some idea of fright being caused by a spirit that must be placated, an idea which is differently expressed in a custom described as common among the Chol Indians near Palenque. With them, if a child is frightened; the mother beats it soundly, meantime crying "Go away, devil, go away, devil!" (*Que sale el diablo!*) In this case fright is definitely a form of possession. It is part of a conception found among many of the Mayance tribes that there is something unnatural and supernatural about a sudden shock of this sort. Being startled must be distinguished from merely being afraid of something, which is considered entirely natural and comprehensible.

On the trail the Indians sleep on beds of palm leaves which take an impression of the sleeper's body. Before going on, these leaves must be shaken out, and should also be held over the smoke of the

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[513] fire and then hung up to destroy the impression and prevent leaving behind with it a portion of the soul, on which magic could be worked. Our own observation was that this precaution was carelessly observed.

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123 Although magic may be worked on impressions on leaves, bits of hair, earth from fields, etc., the Indians showed no objection at all to being photographed beyond a certain embarrassment, and very little to being drawn. Often they asked to be photographed, and at some villages posed readily for sketches.

756 Although, according to Nuñez de la Vega,* there were originally several classes of shamans among these tribes, at present they seem to have narrowed down to one medicine-man type. Primarily these are doctors, but in their practice they preserve certain priestly characteristics. They have a real pharmacopeia, and Ladinos and occasional foreigners who have tried their skill testify to the effectiveness of the medicines.† All their knowledge, however, is kept in greatest secrecy. Just enough medicine is administered at once for a dose, the shaman watching to see that it is consumed, and none held out for identification. Of these we were able to find out virtually nothing. Serpent fat, *junto-tcan*, is in common use as a rub for colds. Head-aches and extreme drunkenness are treated by cutting the forehead with a bit of sharp glass, and bleeding is resorted to in some other cases. The use of the tourniquet in cases of snake-bite is widely known.

All applications of medicine are accompanied by prayers recited in such a way as to be unintelligible to lay hearers. The prayers are an essential part of the treatment.

756 Shamans are trained from early infancy, being selected probably by the older practitioners. One of them takes the student in hand and teaches him prayers and medicines proper to his particular specialty. With this goes a certain amount of plain magic. Whether a man may then study under others and continue learning is not known; however, they vary in reputation both for their ability at curing, and for clairvoyance, casting spells, etc. Casting spells is a sort of reverse function of doctoring, the man who can cure disease being, obviously, able also to cause it.

[273] One of the two words given for a shaman, *poci*, shows an interesting resemblance to the Tzeltal for rum, *poc*. This similarity gains importance in view of the real connection between curing and drinking. A shaman definitely will not perform unless he is more

*Op. cit.
† Cf. Sapper, 1925.

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkenness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk. (273)

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober. 755 273

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance. 273 756

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value. 756 273 126 782

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci. 539

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Torrey, 1907.

- 539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsar*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tei* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokiv-in-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

- 124 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

- 796 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of various Ladinos, who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

- 114 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May.

*Starr, 1908—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
*Pineda, Emeterio, 1843.

as is also shown by his placing of Yaxkin, the first month, in the end of December. The seventh month, Ulol, is co-ordinated with Kankin of the Maya calendar. Now, according to Sebastiano Guzman, the Bachajon shaman, the big fiesta at Bachajon on May 13th is called *Kank'in*. Is this a coincidence, or a true calendar name, and if the latter, what is a Yucatan calendar name doing among the Bachajon, when we should expect the Tzeltal Ulol? In the present state of our knowledge, no more can be done than to state the facts.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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[p. 376]

CHAPTER XVI

THE HIGHLAND TZELTAL

On the Fourth of July we left Ocosingo for the last stretch in 114
to this fabled city of San Cristóbal, about which we had so long been
hearing, up into the real mountains, the country of the highland
tribes. We thought to spend the day in quiet travel, without fire-
works, but our animals had other ideas. El Viejito, the old, white
horse, led off by giving out under his pack right at the start. Then
the bay mare cut loose, distributing her load over several acres.

The celebration finally being calmed, we reached Sivacá, at the
foot of the long climb. The men who knew us were away in the
fields. A few frightened women misdirected us as best they could,
the animals got loose again among the orange trees and winding
paths, and it was another half hour before, to the accompanying
enthusiastic squeals of the local pigs, we finally got them rounded
up and on the right way.

Right behind Sivacá the trail stands up on end to climb the first
of the series of ramparts that lie like a defense about the highland
country. It was very much like trying to ride up a gutter on the side
of a house. The narrow trail was also the bed of a feeble brook. It
was worn so deep that the packs rubbed along the sides. We pushed
and pulled and tugged. There was the usual repetition of fallen
horses and packs to be put on again. Thus for two hours, slipping 114
and scrambling, until at last we came to a level place where an old 133
wooden cross, decorated with offerings of flowers marked the top of 137
the pass—1,660 meters, 600 meters (about 1,900 feet) above Ocosin-
go. From there on, as our trail dipped and rose along the uneven
plateau, we had occasional glimpses through the tall fir trees back
to the ranges behind Ocosingo Valley, and far over the hills of the
Tzendales and the Lacandone country, looking very cool and blue.
The trees were fine, and widely spaced; below were good grass,
patches of pine-needles, and scars of red earth. We followed a suc-
cession of ridges, not very notable in themselves, but tiring to the
animals after their long climb and earlier celebrations. In the late
afternoon it grew cooler, and stimulated by that, and the beauty of
the country, we did not know that we were weary.

One of the pack animals, a game little sandy-coloured pony with 114
a Roman nose, who drew his neck back like a camel's when he
traveled, was making better time than the rest. So Blom, on his

114 mule Borrachito, took him ahead, planning to get into Tenango
early and arrange for food and lodging. They went along briskly
enough for a while, leaving the pack train well behind. Then the
pony stopped, lowered his nose to the ground, blew a moment, and
keeled over. There was nothing for it but to unpack him and wait
114 for help. By and by an Indian turned up. Blom hailed him in
123 Tzeltal, "*La!*"—"come here!" He took cover and disappeared.
Two more came along the trail, stopped at a distance to look him
over, and also disappeared. After a while an Indian's head popped
up for an instant behind a stone. All this was rather disconcerting,
here in the Indian country, and he had noted that one of the Indians
carried a thing that looked like a cleaver on the end of a long pole.
He moved over to the mule, hiding his revolver side so that the In-
dians should not notice that he carried no fire-arms, and put him-
self in reach of his machete. A head stuck out again from behind
a tree. Then two more Indians came down the trail, whom he hailed,
asking them to carry the pack boxes into town. At first they re-
fused, but after looking for a long time at his mule, they accepted
the job. So he continued peacefully towards Tenango. He came
into the open valley just before dusk, with the shadow of the further
mountains just on the village, and the mountains themselves dark
blue and black under tremendous thunder-clouds. The men and
women were all trailing in from their cornfields, with their hoes and
machetes over their shoulders. Some stopped a moment to stare at
him, then went on, moving with slow steps over the cultivated land.

When La Farge and Lazaro came out into the cleared land, the
valley was deep in purple shadow. They reached the Cabildo after
dark, too tired to take notice of anything.

Early the next morning, while wisps of cold, silver and pink
mist still lay in the valley, the village elders gathered to welcome us,
bringing two chickens as presents. They said that they had heard
of us already, and would show us through the village. In return
for all this, we were to report to the *Tata Presidente* in Mexico that
they needed more land, and were hard put to it to find food through-
out the year for the 135 families of the village. At first we were
escorted by the whole group, from the Village President down to
the Secretary, who was illiterate and spoke little or no Spanish.
Later, most of the elders lost interest and trailed off, but we always
had enough of a delegation to ensure us good service. It was Sun-
day, so no one was working in the fields, yet we saw remarkably few
people, the women, especially, keeping within their houses most of
the time.

133 As has been said, Tenango lies in the eastern part of a wide val-
ley that slopes down from the eastern ridge until it meets an abrupt.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 380]

5: Blom & LaFarge A, E-4, 5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tenango

TENANGO VILLAGE

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FIG. 311—Tenango, Chia. Street Scene.

- 133 green wall away to the westward. Midway, there is a break in the slope, with a dramatic splash of deep red cliffs, in violent contrast to the fertile grass and soft tones of the limestone outcrops. Only the upper end of this valley belongs to Tenango, so little, in fact that the inhabitants cannot practice the usual, sprawling milpa system of agriculture. The very yards are planted, and the fields start almost in the village, radiating from it in a close patchwork as in Europe. Everything is fenced with roughly split planks set on end, and fences line the road into Tenango where it passes through the cornfields. The houses with their yards lie close about an open plaza in which are the grey bones of a ruined church, a



FIG. 310.—Tenango, Chio. Houses.

- 361 whitewashed, palm-roofed native one, and the shack of a Cabildo for the Maestro. The streets are lined with useful trees, oranges, gourds, and a few bananas, which do poorly at this altitude.
- 342 The houses are square and well-made with walls of broad, split planks covered with mud (figs. 311-312). The roofs are steeply thatched and pyramidal, or have a short ridge along which broken pots are laid after the manner of tiles. The frame-work differs from that described in the last chapter in having cross-pieces laid between the plates. There are no chimneys, the smoke is allowed to seep through the thatch, keeping out vermin and making the roofs steam like a clam-bake.
- (354)

TENANGO COSTUME

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Physically, the people are taller and somewhat heavier boned than the Bachajon. The older men have small beards, close to their chins, of sparse, wiry black hair. Moustaches are faint. The men wear their hair longer on the backs of their necks and over the tops of their ears (fig. 313).

The men's costume is like that of Ocosingo Valley, a long, V-necked tunic without buttons, coming down nearly to their knees, but the trousers are usually rolled up until almost hidden. A plain red sash is worn knotted in front with ends hanging.

We had great difficulty in getting a look at any of the women until finally the officials arranged for a few of them to come and



FIG. 313.—Tenango, Chis. The Village Elders.

be photographed with their husbands (fig. 314). Nothing could have brought them alone. They were very strange and stiff about the whole thing, and showed more genuine fear of the camera than we saw anywhere else. The women of marriageable age draw their hair together at the back of the head. Around it a long, red, woolen ribbon, about three centimeters wide, is wrapped until it forms a disk standing out like a halo, the exact size being a matter of coquetry. The hair is then turned back and laid along the edge of the disk and wrapped in the last few rounds of ribbon. The result is that it comes out from the head through the center of the disk in a thick mass, then forms a flat elbow where it is doubled back to the

302 edge (fig. 315). Married women use the same head-dress, but with a smaller disk. Girls not yet marriageable do their hair in a pig-tail.

291 The women's blouse is of the old *huipil* type, a long sack of a garment, hanging to the knees, with the shoulders broad enough to come to the elbow, or else with short sleeves sewn on. The seams, cuffs, and neck are picked out with red stitching. The skirt is dark blue, and comes about half-way between knee and ankle.

323 It is an interesting point, and one which archaeologists should note, that Tenango makes the only decorated pottery in the district and has a monopoly also on the big, three-handled water-jars. The

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854
291

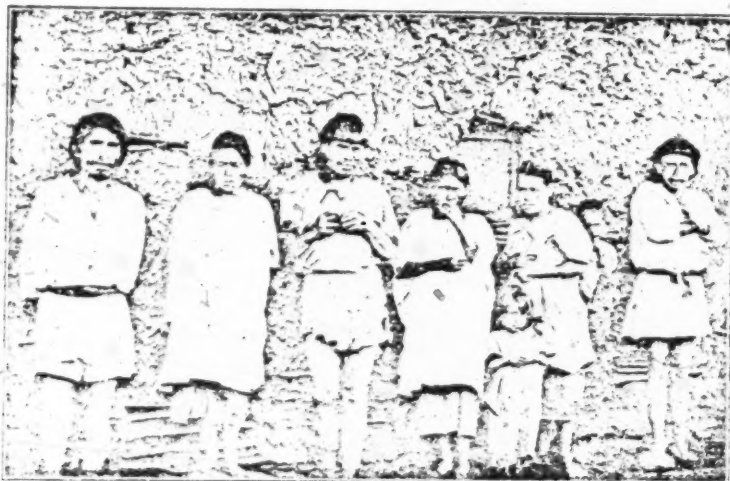


FIG. 314—Tenango, Chis. Married Couples.

323 Indians explain that they go in for pottery-making because they need the money to supplement the products of their insufficient fields.

We were there during the farming season when no work is done on pottery so we were not able to see the processes of manufacture. However, one of our guides took us to the house of a woman who had some reputation for skill, and all types were brought out for us. Besides the forms described in the last



FIG. 315—Tenango, Chis. Women's head-dresses.

chapter, and the big water-jars (fig. 316), they make a goblet-shaped salt-cellar, *you-zal-ats' a'* (*atsam*—"salt"); a *tscts* bowl of

one piece with its stand, which is then called *cOt*, and a pot with one or two spouts and a handle on top called *bur nia* (figs. 317-319). 323

The decoration is fairly standardized. In the big cantaras each woman uses a central element of her own, and all follow the same general scheme. Occasionally a potter breaks out with an odd form, such as an undersized cantara which we bought. It has a row of pellets about the rim, called *tut-cuH*, "little beads"; around the center is a zone of galloping animals showing considerable action, but difficult to identify. When we asked what the animals were, the woman replied rather wearily that they were "to make it pretty," so we let it go at that (fig. 318). 323
531



FIG. 316—Tenango Jar.
(45 c.m. high).

The clay used is a light, greenish brown colour, and lumpy before being prepared. It is tempered with ground, sandy limestone, *hiH-ton* ("sand-stone") of fine quality. The jar is painted with a paste made of a soft, 323



A. *Burnia*.



D.



C.



B.

FIG. 317—Tenango, Chis. Types of Pottery.

B. *Ocom*.

C. *Yocwal-ets'a*.

D. *cOt*.



FIG. 318—Tenango, Chis. Central designs from jars.

black stone, *tsa-ik* (*ik* equals "black") ground and mixed with water. It is laid on with the soft, green tip of a bush called *Hucamal*. 323

The women's *huipiles* and all the men's clothes are woven at Tenango by the women. The men's sashes, which they make, are not as finely woven as among the Bachajon. They are undecorated 286

*To make a cantara—*tsa-ik*. To paint a cantara—*tsa-ik*. To bake cantaras—*tsa-ik* & *tsa-ik* (the latter is the emphatic plural, they are always baked in large batches).

286 and often have no fringe. We were told that it was impossible to
123 see a woman weaving at that time, but by persistent stalking the
126 writer finally managed to locate a girl at work, whom he observed
286 and sketched from behind a bush. The women here were so consistently shy that no doubt she would have rolled up her loom, which was of just the same type as the one seen at Sivacá, and fled into the house had she known she was observed. Our procession through this very pretty village, too, was a serious affair—distinguished strangers being shown around town by the mayor—and had none of the cheerful joking and general *bonhomie* that produced such friendliness and good results at Sivacá.

241 Something more should be said about the agriculture here. Ordinarily, Indians go out to choose their own land in the bush and

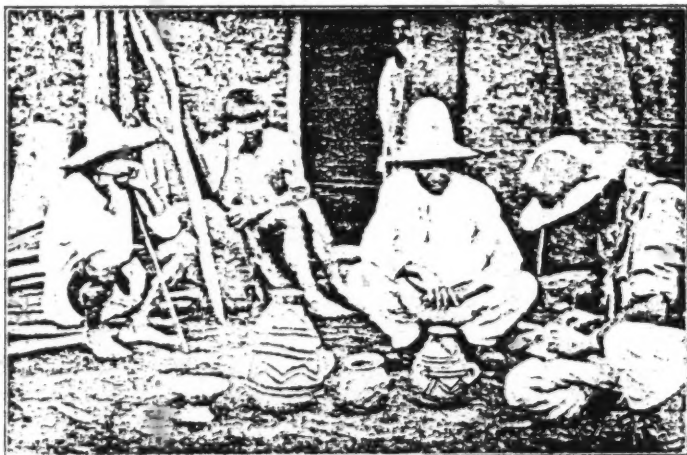


FIG. 319—Tenango, Chis. La Farge drawing pottery.

241 plant it with little cultivation, placing the corn close together. Here each family has its land assigned to it by the council. As the same field must be planted year after year, the hills of corn are widely spaced, and the ground is turned over as deeply as possible by means of heavy hoes, *ak'en*, purchased in San Cristóbal. As was said, everything is fenced as much as possible. When some of our pack animals got loose in a field, the excitement was intense. In the yards of the houses they raise corn, beans, and a plant related to tobacco. This
[417] plant grows nearly as tall as a man. The leaf is rubbed on their legs to cure fatigue. It is carried with lime in a small gourd and offered and accepted for chewing with much the same bowing and formalities as obtained among our ancestors when offering snuff.
824

We had a better chance here than anywhere else to look over the village government. It being Sunday, all were present, the *Presidente Municipal*, the *Secretario*, and council of *Regidores*, elderly men, grave of mien, with small, black goatees. The ordinary villagers treated them with the greatest respect. Each official carried a silver-headed cane with a red ribbon tied to it and the name of his office inscribed on the head. They are appointed to their offices by the government with the ratification of the village. The Maestro works entirely through them, and their orders are absolutely obeyed. Indeed, owing to the independent nature of the Tenangeros, the Maestro is rather like the ambassador of a powerful foreign nation persuading the local government, through tact and very gentle pressure, to behave.

We finished our survey about noon, the Indians appearing unwilling to have us enter their houses. For the rest of that day we spent our time working up our notes into good shape, then teaching the gift chickens to do tricks until Lazaro claimed them for the pot, and in dodging the local officials who, having got themselves slightly tipsy in honour of the Sabbath, came importuning us to give them cigarettes, of which we ourselves were short.

Both that night and the night before, traveling traders built their little pine fires on the mud verandah of the Cabildo. In one



FIG. 320—Travelling Aztec Merchant. Drawing after the Codex Land.

case it was a Mexican and an Indian, in the other two Mexicans, to be distinguished from Indians only by the cut of their trousers and a donkey. They travelled with their big packs on a tump-line, long staff in hand, for all the world like a living re-incarnation of the traders shown in the pre-Columbian drawings of the codices (fig. 320). In old times they traded parrots, macaws, obsidian, textiles,

jade, and later, gold and copper. Now it is a business of cheap watches, gaudy cloths, and ten-cent jewelry, bringing Connecticut, Hamburg, and Orizaba down to a fiesta in Bachajon village, following the old trade-route along which we were going, in the other direction, to San Cristóbal. Very few of the present Indian tribes

443 themselves maintain an export trade, yet there is some. From the
439 distant, shy Lacandones a little tobacco of fine grade comes out, in
exchange for salt, dogs, powder for flint-locks, and aguardiente.
Tenango pottery goes down to Salto de Agua and up to Tenejapa
where it meets the finer products of Amatenango, with which it can-
not compete. Amatenango pottery is traded as far, at least, as San
Andres in Guatemala. Chamula blankets are worn in Cancuc, and
all through the Chiapas mountains. The Indians of the highest
section keep warm in a heavy woolen shirt called "*chuj*," which is
made in Guatemala. So they themselves, on a small scale, and the
Ladino peddlers yet more, keep alive a vestige of the old trade that
once ran from Central America to Utah.

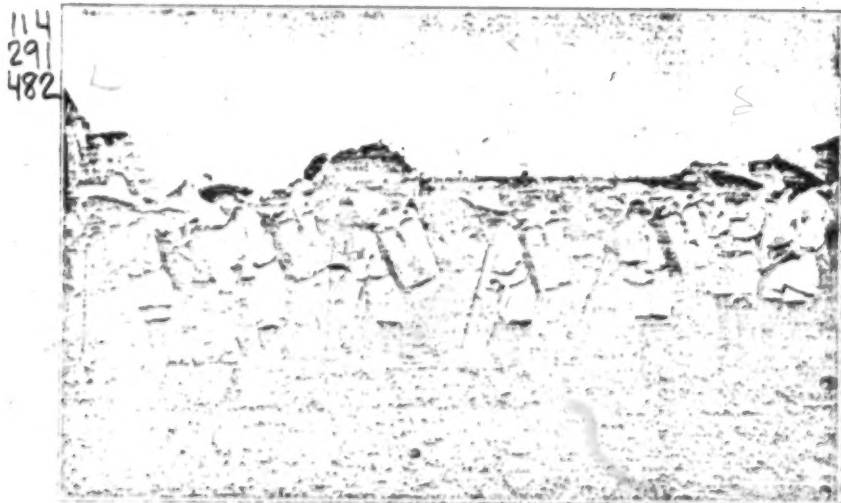


Fig. 321—Cargadores with our boxes.

114 The last day's climb had seriously fatigued our horses. It be-
came obvious that they alone could not bring us safely through, so
on the sixth we arranged for five *cargadores*, under one of the vil-
lage councillors, to carry five of our boxes through to Cancuc (fig.
321). It seemed as though that would make quite a load for each
of these men, but we came to realize that the carrying power of a
Highland Tzeltal truly puts a mule to shame.

At the end of the valley we swung up into the highroad that runs
from San Cristóbal to the Lowlands at Salto de Agua. Once fairly
well smoothed and levelled, this road is now impassable for ox-carts,
and even horses must pick their way over the jagged limestone.

CANCUC VILLAGE

387

boulders with care. It still is broad in most places, and has reasonable grades. We climbed to a rather desolate upland of wind-swept grass with a few crooked trees. There was some traffic on the road. We passed a group of Tenejapeños going down to the hot country to carry sugar. The men were ragged and woolly, like those we had seen at Salto de Agua, and their women, in short blue skirts and white blouses gorgeously ornamented with gold and crimson silk, were remarkable for their very pink cheeks showing through dark brown colouring.

The town of Cancuc (*kank'uk*) lies on the rounded shoulder of a long ridge that juts up above the high moors commanding a tremendous view North, West, and South over a jumbled mass of mountain ranges, like a herd of great elephants shouldering away to the horizon. A wind blows day and night, the trees are small and stunted, and the general effect is one of bleakness and height. At an altitude of 1,440 meters, with the unrelenting wind, it is always cold. The highroad climbs from a ravine up into the village where a small plaza is laid out on a level place. On our left was the big, white church, still well preserved. Opposite it, the Cabildo surprised us, a neat building with tile roof and white columned portico, built in President Diaz' time. Round about were some tumbling and ruined fluts, and behind, the village rose on rough terraces crudely faced with stone.

Cancuc has a stormy history. It was the center of the famous rebellion of 1712, the subject of Brinton's "Maria Candelaria." According to Starr (1904) who passed through here, there is a tradition that the men's long hair, covering their ears, is so worn in memory of the clipped ears which their ancestors received at that time. Recently, there has been political dissension in the form of a dragging feud, and a series of small fights and murders has resulted in those left of the defeated party abandoning the village and setting up their houses in the bush. It is from this that one sees so many huts deserted and beginning to disintegrate, adding to the general cheerless aspect of the place.

We were well received at the Cabildo, where the village officials with their silver-headed canes turned up shortly to look us over. They were younger men than most of the officials we had met previously, and a pretty tough looking crew, much what one would expect of a group that had attained office largely by means of the machete. The people on the whole rather resemble the Bachajon physically, being of a small-limbed type with an average height for men of about 160 centimeters, and nearly beardless. The men wear tunics cut as at Tenango, but decorated with red and yellow em-

*Brinton, 1897: Pineda, 1888.

291 broidery along all the seams, at the cuffs, and over what would be a pocket in a European shirt. Trousers are either very short "shorts," or replaced by a cotton breech-clout. Hats are seldom worn. Most men carry woolen blankets woven by the Chamula Indians. The red sashes are knotted in front (fig. 322).

302 The women's dress is the same as at Tenango, but without any decoration, and with a shorter skirt. Their hair is worn in two braids, or done up in a knot over the forehead, forward of where the tump-line is placed.

771 These people, for all their turbulence, are very devout, although, like many who are more civilized, they leave most of the expression to the women. The church is swept out daily by women appointed for the purpose. Along about five o'clock in the afternoon all the women drift in, singly or in small groups, pray for awhile, and come out. Looking in

346 the door one sees the large interior almost pitch dark, cut here and there with

291 tiny, yellow candle-flames, and hears a monotonous sing-song drone of chanted prayers. Their festivals center about the church. In

796 this connection they have a very curious custom.

417 There are two scaffolds by the plaza (fig. 323) very

small platforms on four rickety poles about four meters high, surrounded by an insufficient railing, arched over with palm branches, and reached by a frail-looking ladder. The drinking which, as was explained in the last chapter, is an essential part of any ceremony, must all take place on top of these scaffolds. It is indeed a miracle that every fiesta does not cause a score of broken necks.

123 While wandering around to see what he could see, the writer was hailed by an elderly woman who gave him to understand by signs



FIG. 323.—Cancuc, Chi. Men on the Cabildo porch.

that he was invited into her house, presumably to take shelter from the evening rain that was beginning to fall. The house, of which he sketched a hurried plan (fig. 324) was more rectangular than is usual, the prevailing type being square with a pyramidal roof. He entered through a low doorway, closed with a wooden door on leather hinges. Although the ridge of the roof was high, the many cross poles reaching from the top of one wall to the other made it necessary to stoop. The writer squatted by the door, facing the fire, which smoked merrily in the closed room. The old woman immediately set to shaping a pile of tortillas for baking. Along either wall was a well-made bench, decorated with notches along the top and geometric designs on the back, similar to the benches on the Cabildo porch (fig. 325). These and a sturdy table that was stored on top of the stringers were said to be purely local products. By the door stood a big jar, a full meter in height, crude and undecorated (fig. 326). There was the usual collection of ollas and gourds, and one other new form, an open-mouthed pot about eight centimeters high and as many in diameter, flat bottomed, with a handle on one side, called *hútc* (fig. 327). In the thick smoke, it was hard to see anything. I was in-



FIG. 323—Cancuc, Chis.
Drinking scaffold.

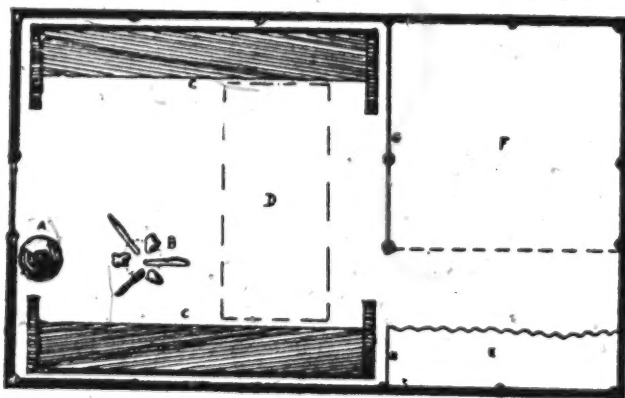


FIG. 324—Cancuc, Chis. Plan of House.

terested to note that my hostess' eyes watered nearly as much as my own. In the darker end of the house I could make out corn stacked neatly along one wall, and a partition that presumably hid the beds. For a while the woman answered the few questions that I could make her understand by means of signs, my half-a-dozen words of Tzeltal,

124 and her three words of Spanish. Then she grew hostile, answering
123 everything with a plaintive "*Ma snaa*," "I don't know." This went
on for two or three minutes, then suddenly she flung open the door
and waved me out with no uncertain gesture, saying something about
the "Presidente Municipal," and the "Secretario." By this time it
was pouring cats and dogs, but there was nothing to do save run
for it.

284 Cancuc is not noted for any product. There are about the same
322 arts and industries as at other towns, but the only ones that amount
to anything like a specialty are netmaking and whittling combs.
The combs are better and more neatly made than those of the
Bachajon, and with a selection of the wood for grain that often pro-
duces very pretty combinations. The nets are made by the men, who

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[531]
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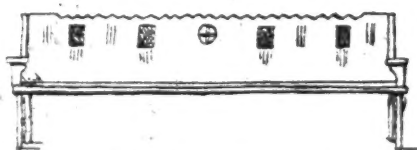


FIG. 325—Cancuc, Chis. Bench.

[415]
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FIG. 327.
Cancuc, Chis.
Pottery. Hilt.
(4 c.m. high).



FIG. 326—Cancuc,
Chis. Tall Jar.
(1 m. high).

go about rolling the twine or knitting as they walk. The process
was described in the last chapter.

485 Being on the main highway, the government maintains a long
shed, like a wagon-shed, thatched with leaves and grass, which is at
the disposal of travelers. This relieves the Maestro of duties of en-
tertainment. Towards nightfall, various groups came into camp
here, a family of Mexicans, with a big fire, and goods piled high,
two traders with their packs, some Chamulas, fine-looking men
dressed in white wool tunics, with flowing cotton kerchiefs round
their heads, and a couple of Tenejapeños with nets full of apples.
The Chamulas, who are remarkably progressive Indians, had come
in with a string of mules. After dark, the line of fires in the divi-
sions of the shed, the talk, the fire-lit figures in their varied costumes,
with the Church and houses rising on the terraced hill behind made
as picturesque and charming a scene as one could possibly imagine.

From Cancuc the road falls slowly away, then it climbs to the steep side of the ridge and at last dips precipitously to a covered bridge over a narrow ravine. All along on both sides little corn-fields alternate with second growth. Ahead, the same great palisade that we saw from Tenango rises in a green wall, patched with fields and broken here and there by outcrops of cliffs and hanging valleys. We passed a dribbling of traffic, Indians on foot, and at the bridge met a family of Mexicans noisily eating a picnic lunch. The ravine was deep, rock-walled, with a roaring stream in the shadows of the bottom. From the other side of it the palisade rose immediately, looking almost perpendicular and indefinitely high to us as we contemplated it. The road assumed a stiff grade, rising in a series of zig-zags that gained painfully to the top. Straight up, almost like a ruled line, lay the Indian trail, taking no account of the twists and turns of the road. Our carriers from Cancuc, who took on the cargo that the Tenango men had carried the day before, had gone up that fearsome climb. We tried it, but the horses slid and fell back on their haunches, and we ourselves could barely keep our footing. So we continued along the road, turning and turning, seeming never to gain, and fearing that our animals would never make it. The heat of the sun was thrown back by the hillside and the road.

We toiled on. Low growth and brush on the side of the road gave no shade. The dust rose high. The air, for all the heat, began to have a pleasant crispness that reminded us of high altitudes in other countries. Then we smelt a familiar smell which we ignored until its persistent recurrence forced us to look, see, and believe—that blackberries grow wild in Chiapas! The event of the next hours amused Lazaro greatly, for here in Mexico we found ourselves among familiar northern flowers and wild fruits, buttercups, dandelions, wild roses, blackberries, strawberries, all strange to him. We passed an Indian farm, stuck into a tiny hanging valley, where peach trees and alligator pears were growing together in the corn-field.

At the top of the pass in a shallow V-shaped cut, the barometer read 2,100 meters, a climb of 600 meters—about 1,900 feet—in two hours.

The country changed beyond here to steep ravines, high cliffs, rushing, cold brooks, and tall, dark fir trees clothing the rocks. The tilled fields disappeared, the scattered houses, and stick fences. It was a wild, shaggy country—a perfect setting, we thought, for the home of the rough Tenejapeños that we had seen along the road.

Near evening, a road forked off to the right, leading to a split in a wall of high cliffs through which we could see, already dark with

133 shadow, another wall far behind. A Mexican told us that Tene-
133 japa lay in the valley thus enclosed. With the cool evening air our
114 animals picked up, taking us along at a good trot. We swung
around a green dell, up under one cliff into the opening, over the
threshold of a ridge. Some Indians sitting there waved to us. Be-
yond was a tiny, lush meadow and a brook where some Mexicans
were making clay tiles. There was another rocky hillock, around
which we swung to find ourselves trotting down a well-cobbled
street lined with little white cottages, white-walled gardens, and
361 roses. To us, looking for something yet wilder than the villages we
had seen, the neat houses and candle-lit casement windows, the doors
of tiny shops, the flowers, and the shingled roofs were an utter sur-
prise. In the streets was a sprinkling of touselled-headed Indians

[346]

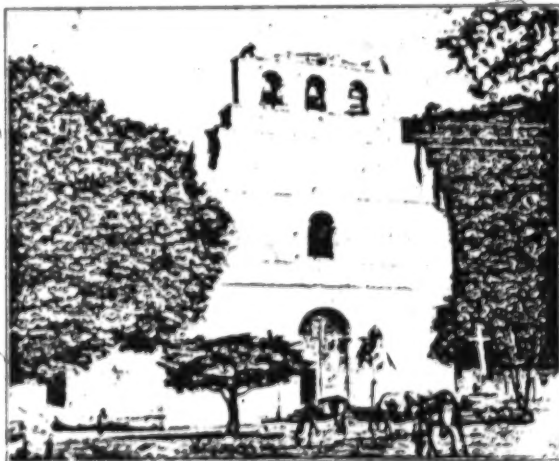


FIG. 229—Tenejapa. Chris. Church and Plaza.

and Ladino people of much fairer complexion than the typical,
Lowland Mexicans. We rode past a gaunt, high-shouldered stone
church into the plaza, a field of about two acres planted with a few
trees, and with a fine town fountain of icy water in the middle (fig.
344 328). Along one side ran the Cabildo, a long, one-storied building
531 with a very deep veranda, gorgeously painted in cubist fashion, red,
123 yellow, green and blue. Here we halted to unpack and present our
credentials to the *Presidente Municipal*.

361 Tenejapa is really two towns in one. There is the Ladino town,
563 around which lie the houses of some eight thousand Indians, by local

estimate, with their own, regular Indian administration under the control of the Ladino government. The *Presidente Municipal*, a most obliging man, got the Indian *Presidente* for us, whom we photographed by the last light of the day (fig. 329). Through this chief, men were sent out to bring in grass; they returned with enormous, green bundles as big as themselves.

The Indian houses outside the town differ from those previously described in the possession of a sort of porch, or part under the roof in front screened with boards, introductory to the house itself.

The Tenejapeños are strongly built, thickset, and short, with enormously powerful calves. In fact the chief industry of the tribe is acting as porters. They go in large bands to places at a considerable distance to take or bring back loads, competing successfully with the Chamula pack-trains. In this the women are as proficient as the men. Their colour is dark, a rich brown, more red than golden, with distinctly pink cheeks showing through in the case of the children and old people. The men are almost beardless. Faces are rather broad and round* (fig. 330).

The essential parts of a man's costume are a pair of shorts and a brown and white striped Chamula Indian blanket, worn as a poncho. Two of these blankets may be comfortably worn in that climate. Hats, when used, are also of Chamula make, of straw with a flat brim, and round, close-fitting crown pointed at the top. Usually they are decorated with ribbons. A sash of white material may be worn, the ends of which, hanging down in front, are elaborately embroidered (fig. 331). The



FIG. 329.—Tenejapa, Chia. The chief of the Tenejapeños.

*Starr (1907) made some measurements upon these people, the most important of which are summarized here. They show an interesting variability.

STATURE IN MILLIMETERS							
Mean	Maximum	Minimum	Range	Below	1650—	Above	Total
1,587	1,788	1,408	380	1400 78	1650 18	1700 0	100
				Maximum	Minimum	Range	
CEPHALIC INDEX			Mean	86.6	88.8	18.3	
FAcial INDEX			81.8	84.5	88.8	29.0	
NASAL INDEX			88.8	109.2	84.1	30.3	

291 shorts are also usually embroidered in red and yellow. The chief had
[123] such a pair, very fine and gaudy, which we asked to see. He took
[293] them off to show us, but when we tried to buy them from him he
became furiously angry and abusive. Sandals, when worn, are of
the ordinary type. Most of the Indians carry a staff of some kind.

[531] The women wear the typical blue skirt, but the blouse, cut like
a poncho, is usually tucked inside and heavily embroidered about the
neck and shoulders. This work takes a long time, and the finished

[342]
[231]
[854]
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563
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[293]
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FIG. 290.—Tenejapa, Chi. Indians in the street.

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liely with great clamor on the Town Hall porch, and all concerned
speaking with the utmost freedom. A breach of promise case was
observed in the course of trial. It went on for at least two hours
with never less than two Indians, usually women, speaking at once.
One could not but admire the patience of the rather bored and in-
different judge.

blouses are valued very highly. When worn outside they nearly
cover the skirts, which are just knee length. Red sashes with a
yellow stripe from Tapachula, of the kind worn also around
Ocosingo, bind the skirts at the waist. Hair is done in two
braids with dark red ribbon, or tied up in a knot over the fore-
head as at Cancue.

Men and women alike wear cheap, gay-coloured necklaces, usually rosaries.

The Indians move with great freedom through the town and lounge in company with the
Ladinos on the broad porch of the Town Hall. The officials
are distinguished by silver-headed canes with black tassels. In
lieu of a Maestro, they are directly under the Ladino *Presi-
dente Municipal*, and their disputes are tried by the local
judge. Their lawsuits have a mediaeval air, carried on pub-

114 The cargadores from Cancue arrived shortly after dark, still
lively despite the long day and steep climb. More remarkable still.

one of them had developed fever, "so that he lost his breath," and another had made almost the whole trip with two kayaks, over 200 lbs. on his back. They camped on the Town Hall porch where we, with our beds on piles of grass in a room labelled "*Comandancia*," heard them, as we fell asleep, still chattering over a friendly bottle. Here, as long ago at Ocozotepec, our goods and saddles were stored in the jail, the room next ours, bearing the tactful label in red and blue, "*Prevencion*." Our grass beds were soft and sweet. The big door framed a little of the plaza, the fountain, a cottage with a narrow barred, candle-lit window, and the towering back-drop of cliffs behind, reaching to the stars, with one small winking fire, high up, from some Indian's house. We heard our *cargadores*' low chatter-

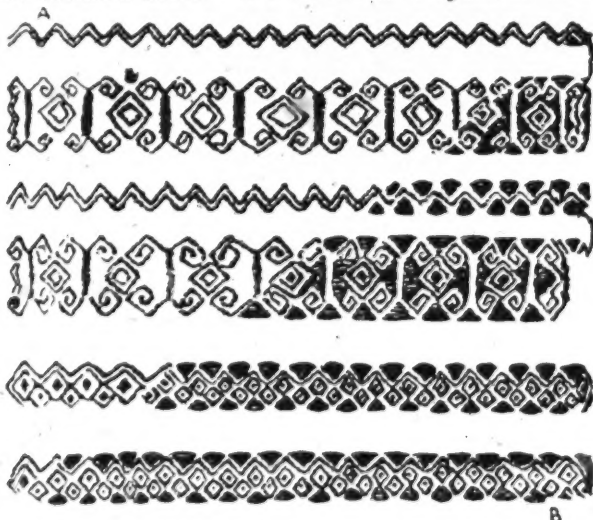


FIG. 331—Tenejapa, Chiapas. Embroidery on end of a sash.
A. Front. B. Back.

ing, the play of the fountain, a distant guitar. The air was fresh with pines and sweet grass and mountain coolness. We were in a magic country, and we were very, very tired.

Although it breaks the sequence of our journey, it seems best to mention the town of Amatenango here in connection with the other Highland Tzeltal tribes. We passed through it just beyond Teopisca on our way to Comitán, having no time to stop off. The people had been observed in San Cristóbal, where they come in to trade their famous pottery, men and mules alike piled high with loads twice their size.

361 Amatenango lies in an open valley. It is estimated at three
342 hundred houses, each in a fenced yard of good size, and shaded with
351 fruit trees. The houses are large and well built, of mud and grass
245 thatch, with porches. The small church and Town Hall are tiled-
346 roof and stuccoed. The fields, which lie close around the town, and
344 the gardens in the town itself are watered by a stream brought down
241 a very pretty, roaring flume from higher land behind the village.
312 The irrigation system is fairly elaborate, and is unique in this area
as far as we know.

323 The pottery, which is their chief product, is almost all of one
shape, a sphere, with three handles and a narrow bottle-neck with a
flat lip. The decoration does not vary. Both shape and design, how-

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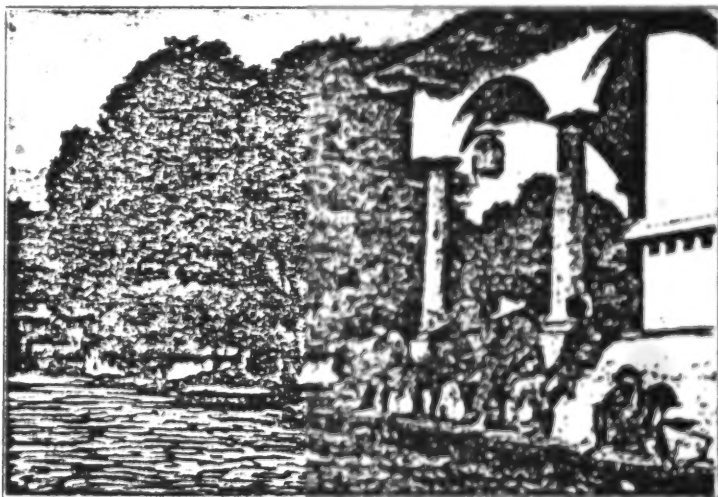


FIG. 882—Tenejapa, Chi. Indians at the Town Hall.

323 ever, are of considerable charm. The polish is fine and smooth, giving
an even golden-red colour all over, with the decoration in a deep,
reddish brown. No such fine, finished work is done by other tribes in
the area. The pots are baked by placing them on a rectangle of
boards, two or more meters square, around a hot fire. The woman
in charge turns them until they are done (fig. 883). These pots are
[443] carried by the men as far as San Cristóbal, where they are redis-
[442] tributed, and to Nenton in Guatemala. Their industry is sufficient
to enable them to maintain mules for carrying their goods, although
both men and beasts are equally loaded.

CUSTOMS OF AMATENANGO

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The men are tallish and the majority of them have sparse, black beards. They wear plain, white cotton tunics and short trousers, sashes, and hats of the sombrero type. The women wear the usual short, blue skirts. Their blouses are cut with a square neck, around which are embroidered three bands, each about two centimeters wide, of red, yellow and red. At the corners, little imitation tassels are embroidered in the same colours.

We were told, by an unreliable informant, that this village was remarkable for its independence. Its officials are chosen by the natives alone, and run through a regularly prescribed *cursus honorum* from secretary up to president, and then on to the council of elders. Government laws and orders sent to the village are debated by this council and are not published unless approved by them.

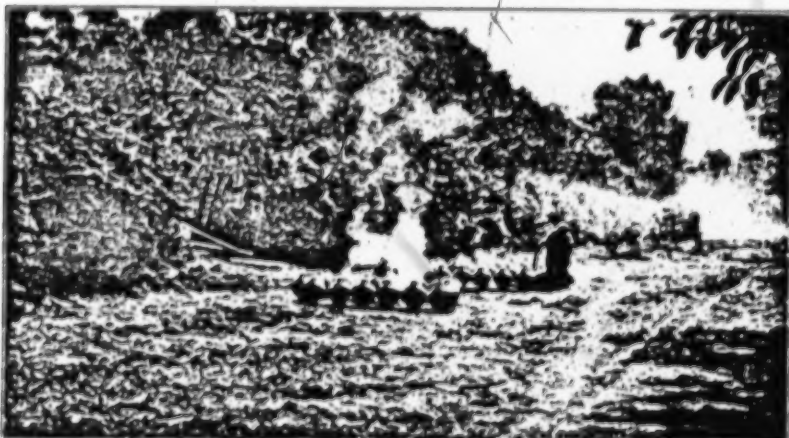


FIG. 523—Amatenango, Chi. Pottery baking.

We were also told that in case of marriage each party works for his or her prospective in-laws, and that the girl at that time learns pottery making, taking over the mother-in-law's specialty.

While there was no way of checking up on this information, it is true that there is no Maestro at Amatenango, and that the Indians seem to be an unusually self-respecting and self-reliant lot. Of all the Tzeltal people observed, they were the only ones who seemed to compare with the Zotzil-speaking Chamulas in energy and prosperity.

Returning to ourselves and our trip. We left Tenejapa on the following morning by a winding, broad road climbing to a pass in

114 the cliffs, past a wilding apple tree, and many wild rose bushes.
137 These roses, apparently self-planted, differ from the Northern wild rose. One variety, a large red one, has a double row of petals, the other is covered with small, compact white blossoms. The red rose grows on a small bush, the white on a more rambling vine.

132 In the early morning, with the sun just beginning to show, and
342 the fires newly lighted, the straw roofs of the Indian houses were clouded with a white mist of evaporating dew.

114 The day was windy, crisp, and clear, like late October weather.
13 Our animals stepped forth briskly, well fed with two good meals of the long grass, and stimulated by weather that they, in their low-land lives, had never known. We travelled gaily along broken moors, stopping now and again for blackberries, or to drink at cold, swift streams. Hailing an Indian working in his cornfield, he gave us a handful of small peaches, not quite ripe, and an utter novelty to Lazaro. Here and there we passed Ladino cottages, always white, with a white-walled courtyard, many flowers, rose-vines, and shingled roof. The shingles are held down with pegs which stick up a couple of inches in rows of amusing bristles.

114 In the late forenoon we came up to the 2,500 meter level (about
133 7,900 feet). The country was pine-clad, with rolling valleys. Then
137 we crossed a canyon and swung around onto a great, open, wind-swept moor, reaching away to the horizon, with one or two oak trees beaten down by the wind, like trees near a stormy coast. Underfoot was a vivid, green carpet of a fine, close-growing herb dotted with tiny, pale yellow flowers. Along the road wash-outs had cut gashes of red soil, burnt orange and sienna in colour. Against the sky-line a rounded hill stood up, bearing a row of huge, towering crosses with a wrack of clouds flying behind them. At their feet was a maze of small crosses, a Chamula cemetery.

1361 Shortly we came to the first of their settlements, a group of very
342 neat houses with high, pyramidal thatched roofs, truck gardens close to the houses, the whole carefully fenced in a square, and across the road another fenced square of wheat and corn. Outside, a flock of their sheep was grazing, watched over by a woman in a black wool-huipil belted with a deep red sash and decorated by a tuft of crimson wool in the middle of the chest. Her black hair was done in two braids, wrapped in heavy, crimson ribbon, then coiled on her head like a turban.

133 Beyond this was a succession of small, green valleys of fine grass,
137 each with a stream in the center, many yellow flowers, and the ridges
231 between clothed in pine and live-oak. The flocks of sheep and cattle
233 were guarded by herders dressed in black, sleeveless tunics over
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THE ROAD TO SAN CRISTOBAL

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longer, creamy-white wool kirtles with red sashes at their waists. Their heads were bound with white kerchiefs, flowing behind, and some wore the stiff-brimmed straw hats with close-fitting crowns, decked with ribbons. Their legs were bare to their sandals, which had high backs reaching sometimes up to their calves. They leant on long staves, watching us ride by with none of the furtive or humble appearance that marks so many of these Indians. Here and there over the tops of the trees we saw smoke rising, and the roof-tops of other groups of houses.

The road began to wind along beside cliffs, falling away on one side. Ladino houses became common. Here and there were little stands, beside the broad, beaten track, offering various refreshments.



FIG. 224.—San Cristóbal, Chi. Huastec Indians.

Then we came into traffic of all sorts, Mexicans a-foot and a-horse, bullock carts, strings of Indians, and Chamula pack-trains. The afternoon sun was hot, but our horses kept their vigor, and as for us, the excitement of this strange country that lay behind the Mexico of the books held us spellbound.

The roads in from the various neighboring villages and towns converged into a trunk highway, twenty or thirty yards wide, with a sheer cliff of tough, mortar-like clay on one side and a steep drop to a ravine on the other. Here we saw all the traffic of the Highlands, every tribe that traded at San Cristóbal. Tenejapeños shuffled by in single file bearing heavy packs, usually under command of a Ladino man or boy.

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729] mand of a Ladino man or boy. There were Indians from Cancuc, and once we saw a Tenangero. Chamulas were plentiful, with mules or tump-line loads of their products, wool, blankets, vegetables, grass, wood, and leather. The women carried babies on their backs or slung in front if they had burdens; children just old enough to walk trailed along, dressed like their parents in miniature. Indians from Sinancatan, related to the Chamulas, wore tunics of creamy white with a fine red stripe. The Tzeltal-speaking Huistefios were dressed in cotton-shirts, always ragged, the long tails of which, caught up under their sash in front, served for trousers. They wore very small straw hats with streamers, stuck onto one side of their heads and tied on with a string (fig. 334). The explanation of this parody on British sailors is that their patron San Martin at Huistan wears such a hat. The women wore the usual blue skirt and embroidered blouse, with sailor-hatted babies nodding over their shoulders. We saw men of Amatenango with their enormous loads of pottery, San Bartolomé from near Comitán, breeched like Dutchmen, their cotton clothes dotted over with red spots, Ladinos walking or riding, fine dandies in big hats with a clean shirt wrapped in a towel behind their saddles, trotting showily into town on their finest horses, muleteers from Oaxaca in tight-fitting breeches and huge sombreros, with beautiful serapes slung over their shoulders.

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361] The road turned abruptly, bringing us around the cliffs to a view of the valley and San Cristóbal at last. We looked down into a little bowl ringed with green mountains. Around the edge was a band of meadows cut by streams with scattered white farm-houses, a grouping of white walls, red roofs, green trees, and the domes of twenty-two churches. On a hill, as steep as any pyramid, just behind the town, the little temple of San Cristóbal himself looked down over the town.

The road became a cobbled street, the shingled, white houses closed together and took on red roofs. We trotted past block after block of the smallest shops in the world, mere doorways, in which hung every imaginable Indian product or thing that an Indian would buy, while natives of every village in the highlands bartered at the doors. The streets debouched into the plaza, cool with the massed green of camphor trees, beside the cathedral with its cream-coloured walls and terra-cotta pilasters. Around in front of the modern and ugly Palacio Municipal, to the dark, arched doorway of the Hotel Español, we clattered into a shaded, flowery patio and dismounted at last in San Cristóbal las Casas.

[pp. 401-464 not processed]

APPENDIX III

COMPARATIVE WORD-LISTS

YOCOTAN, CHONTAL, TZELTAL, CHANEABAL, JACALTECA

••• The Yocotan dialect spoken at the villages of San Fernando and San Carlos, and neighbouring rancherías, near Macuspana in Tabasco, proves on comparison to be merely a variant of Chontal of the Chontalpa proper. The name Yocotan is retained because it is their own name for the dialect, and offers a substitute, if applied to the whole language, for the confusing Chontal, which is also applied to an entirely distinct, non-Mayance dialect of the Pacific Coast. Both Berendt* and Thomas and Swanton* have objected to this confusion.

197 Comparison with Tzeltal does not bear out the assertion, quoted in Thomas and Swanton, of Berendt,* and of Brinton, who had seen Berendt's unpublished material, that Chontal is only a form of Tzeltal. While undoubted similarities exist between the two dialects, enough to cause them to be classed in the same larger division of the Mayance stock,† the two do not belong together in the sense in which Tzeltal and Zotzil, or Tzeltal and Chaneabal are joined. Yocotan shows a greater number of lexical similarities to Maya proper, and in their resemblances to and variations from Maya the two languages do not agree.

••• Structurally, the Yocotan dialects are marked off from all the others of this group by their verb construction (see Appendix IV). The most notable point of this is that in Yocotan the possessive pronoun is ordinarily prefixed to the verb, while with the others a verbal-nominal pronoun is suffixed.

The graded variations and similarities from Yocotan all the way to Jacalteca cause one to wonder whether it is correct to take Maya as the type language for the stock, a position which at present seems to be based on historical priority rather than on linguistic grounds.

197 Proper study both of sound-shifts and, especially, morphology, may possibly place in a new light the languages—Chol, Chorti, Tzeltal, Chaneabal—of Indians occupying the Old Empire terrain, partially surrounding the Lacandon country. It would, for instance,

*Thomas and Swanton, 1911, p. 92; Berendt, 1876, p. 9.

†Stoll, 1884, quoted by Tossar, 1921; Gates, 1929. Sapper groups Chol, Chorti and Chontal.

197 be of great interest could it be ascertained whether Tzeltal really is the parent tongue of Zotzil, or whether Zotzil, with its marked vocalic individuality, has not corrupted Tzeltal from an original form more closely allied to the lowland languages.

194 The alphabet used here is modeled on that of Dr. Tozzer,* with a few changes and some additions. It would, perhaps, be possible to enlarge the range of *k* sounds yet further, but the result would be only to make the present records needlessly difficult of comparison with the older lists.

PHONETICS. The languages recorded here closely resemble Maya itself in their phonetic system, although a slightly wider range of sounds, especially in the vowels, is found. This may in part be due to uncertainties of pronunciation; certain sounds occur differently in the same word spoken by different men, e. g., *ts'* and *tc'* in Tzeltal, final *'* and *k* in Yocotan Chontal. If enough Indians could be questioned, a normal form could undoubtedly be derived from many of these alternates. The presence of the *k* fortis (*k'*), velar *k* (*q*), and the palatalized *g* (*x*), with the frequent stop (*'*), gives a wider range of *k* and *g* sounds than in Maya.† These, with the fortis forms of *t* and *p*, and the dental surds *ts* and *tc*, make the languages distinctly harsh and unpleasant to the ear. In addition, the Tzeltal and Chaneabal have an ugly, whining tone in ordinary conversation, very much increased when emphasis is desired. Yocotan has an unusual range of nasals.

193 CONSONANTS. The system of consonants includes one velar, three
194 palatals, alveolars, and a double set of dentals, both surd and fortis, a dorsal, nasal, and labials. It is difficult to distinguish between *b*, *p*, and *w*, although they are probably not interchangeable.‡ In Jacalteca the *p* at first appeared to be a *w*, but was found to be actually distinct; the sound is almost impossible to imitate.

Mention should be made of the added letter *r*, already suggested by Dr. Tozzer, who says:§

"I have been much perplexed by what I have long thought to be an *r* sound, possibly a sonant of the spirant. No mention of this sound is made in any of the early grammars and its presence is denied by the Mayas themselves. This sound I seem to have heard in several words written by Maya scholars with a double vowel . . . I have come to the conclusion to omit this sound from the list."

*Tozzer, 1921.

†Cf. Tozzer, op. cit., p. 17.

‡Tozzer, op. cit., p. 18, and Gates, 1929, p. 612.

§Ibid., page 18.

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This *r* I have heard and recorded in the same word in different lists, particularly among the Tzeltal; e. g., *kere* (boy). It is rare, occasionally confused with *l*, but quite forcible when present. It has a short, hard trill, not unlike the Japanese, made with the forward part of the tongue against the roof of the palate.

	Sonant	Surd	Fortis	Spirant	Nasal	Lateral	Trill
Velar.....	—	q	—	—	—	—	—
Palatal.....	—	k	k'	H	—	—	—
Alveolar.....	—	t	t'	s	n	l	—
Dorsal.....	g	—	—	x	ñ	—	r
Nasal.....	—	—	—	—	h	—	—
Dental.....	—	ts	ts'	j	—	—	—
		tc	tc'	c	—	—	—
Labial.....	b	p	p'	v	m	—	—
Glottal.....		—	—	—	—	—	—

Breath, *h*. Semi-vowels, *w* and *y*.

q, the velar *k*, is formed between the back of the tongue and the soft palate. Palatal *k* is as in English. The fortis, *k'*, is made as the *k*, followed by a strong explosion of breath. The various fortis sounds may be similarly described in relation to their respective surds.

H is an intensified *h* sound, resembling the Mexican pronunciation of *x* in "Mexico," or *g* in "gente."

The dorsal *x* resembles *ch* in German "ach," but with less aspiration.

g is rather faint, as in Spanish "agua."

ñ is the *ng* in English "ring."

tc is the *ch* in English "child."

c is the *sh* in English "shoot."

The lateral *l* is accompanied by a slight breathing, giving it a thick sound.

j is pronounced as in French "jamais."

VOWELS. On comparing the vowel sounds listed here with those of other writers, it seems possible that I have made too fine distinctions. However, the new vowels were found to occur with great regularity, and in several cases I was corrected by my informants for changing them to the nearest approximate standard form, as, in pronouncing Yocotan *kE-* as *kũ*, or the sound I have represented by *O* as *o*. Unmarked vowels have their Spanish sounds, *a* as in "pan," *e* as in "me" (not as in "metate"), *i* as in "bonita," *o* as in "lodo," but *u* is pronounced as *oo* in English "good." In addition there is a long *a* (*ā*) as in English "father," short *e* (*ē*) as in Eng-

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lish "met," short *i* (i) as in English "mix," long *u* (ū) as *oo* in English "boot," and short *u* (ũ) as in English "hut." *E* represents a sound between *ū* and English *er* in "water." *O* is a sound like English "or" said while holding the mouth for *u*. Diphthongs are *ai*, *oi* and *au*.

Double vowels are always to be pronounced separately, the second having a slightly shorter quantity than the first.

Accent is indicated by ' in those words in which the stress does not fall on the last syllable.

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INFORMANTS. The Chontal List was taken down by Mr. William Gates from two pure-blooded Indians of Tecoluta, Tabasco. It was made at Comalcalco. Mr. Gates' spelling has been revised to accord with the other lists, as far as possible.

Two Yocotan lists were made, the first, from José Hernandez, a young Indian of San Fernando, Tabasco, at Macuspana. The second was given, together with the ethnographic information, by Lázaro Hernandez Guillermo, a man of forty or forty-five, also of San Fernando; he had a little Ladino blood on his mother's side. This man, although illiterate, was remarkably intelligent, and was by all odds the best informant that we had in the course of the trip. The list was made at leisure on board the steamer, and he was by that time thoroughly at home with us, and acquainted with our methods and wishes. He showed some, limited, ability to analyze his own grammatical forms.

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The first Tzeltal list was given by Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon shaman, at El Encanto in Chiapas. It was supervised by Don Arturo Tovilla, who was thoroughly conversant with the language. The second was given, also at El Encanto, by Fidencio Morales, a Ladino house-boy from Ocosingo, who was not satisfactory. The third was taken down from Don Ciriaco Aguilar at Bachajon. Señor Aguilar had been assisting in Ethnological work for over two weeks, and spoke Tzeltal fluently. He was assisted by a volunteer committee of Indians and Ladinos.

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The Chaneabal list was compiled at El Puente, near Comitán, from an Indian estimated at thirty-five years of age, called Casimiro Gomez. He was moderately satisfactory.

Two Jacalteca lists were made. The first, at Jacaltenango in Guatemala, was given by Santiago Hernandez, a middle-aged Indian of doubtful purity, with occasional help from other Indians. He was literate, fairly intelligent, and enthusiastically cooperative. The second was hastily taken down at Concepción. It was begun by Alonzo Rafael Alvebal, pure-blood, about thirty years old, who

INFORMANTS

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did not like it and ran away. His place was taken by a younger man, Nicholas Cardon Niqol (the third names appear to be nick-names), but too much time had been lost to accomplish a great deal.

¹⁹² In the printed lists, preference has been given to the first-named informant in each dialect, although when the variation is considerable, both versions are set down.

SPANISH	TEZTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
Abeja	{tcanal-tcap {tcap-tcūl-tat-tik	{yūm -tcap {mu-yum olokte	tcupim
abuela	{tcutcux {tcutcun-el	{kE-mim {pan'ocip	ka-mam
abuelo	tat-mam-al (father-old-the)	kE-mop	ka-mam
agrio	bax	amuh-ba'	pa
agua	ha'	ha'	ha
aguacero	tulan-ha-al (strong water)	no-ha (big water)	
alacrán	tsek	sina'	sina'
aliento			ik
alma	lap	pican	
alto	toyol	diaki	iski
amarillo	k'an	kun	k'an
amo		yum	
andar	be-el	{cuma'a {ya-kE-te†	te cambia
animal	tcam-ba'lam	Eluk'i	tcitam
año	{hun hab-il {hab sin-il	{hun hap (future) {hun habi (past)	
aquí	liil	nida ⁿ	
araña	ām	t'oi	ah-toi†
árbol	te	te	hun tsit-te
arcilla	tcav-ek lum (beeswax-earth)		
arco	{timal-te {yalab	wun-te	
cuerda del arco	ahci'al		
ardilla	teute	teute	ictcute
arroyo	ukum	safi-ha'	
asiento		teumlip	teunlip
áspero		ketsen	
atole		mats *	mats
aya		nant'i	

*amuh, amo-, or amos-, appearing in various adjectives, means very.

†In many verbs the informants gave the first person singular, present form. This may be detected by the pronominal kE. See Appendix III.

tah = the definite article.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TRIBES AND TEMPLES

192 197	SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
	baile			ahk'out
	barba	kisim	kE-tsuktik	tsutsti
	balsa	poi		
	banda		ku'teinuk	
	barca		no-hukup (big canoe)	
	bastante	bisel	köen	
	blanco	tsak	tsuk	suk
	blando		la'am	laam
			pukum	
	hobo		tsitsuk	
	boca	kē	kE-ti'	ati
	bonito		pitsi'	
	mujer			goodo ke pokem novick
	bosque	mukul hamal (big woods)		
	brascero		pulvénip	nitci kak
	brazo	kap	kE-kup	kab
	brujo	poci'	atsak'	ah tsataya (sacerdote indie)
		iluxhom		
	bueno	lek	uts	uts
	está b-	lek-ai (good-there is)	uts-an (good-there is)	
	buho	koOts	buhup	ah-hu
	caballo	tsemen	tsimin	
	cabello		kE-tsuk	tsuk
	cabeza	hol	kE-pam	ka-pam
	caer			ta yelo
	calabaza	teum	teum	teum
	calavera	sbak-el-hol-al	pama-teim'i k'an	a-teime
	caliente	kiicin	tiko'b	tiku
	cama	waix-yiv-el	nute'	tsen
	camino	be	bii	bi
	camisa		buk	
	campo	huta-kin akiltik	ham	campo
	cangrejo	nēp	aiy'uc	yuc
	caña	qwahale	oi	oh
	caoba		atsutso	tsutsub
	carne	bak	uye'e bekta	vec
	casa	na'	otOt	otot
	CASAS		otOte	

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	SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192	cayuco	cayuca	kūkūp	hukub
197	cazar	mutš-umihel	kola-tute'he (let us go hunting)	ya-ka-ce-te-lo-tohla (now I go hunting)
	ceniza	tan	tsitañ	tsitan
	cerca	hoöpol	hEtsük	natsa
	cerro	wits	wits	
	ciego	tupen-tsit	'ahteOk'	{trok-uhul /ateuk
	cielo	te'utcan	cirlo	cielo
	ciervo		trimai	trimai
	cojo			{tcunnyok /peteOk
	cola		ne	ne
	colgar		kE-teol-kE-tee (I-hang-I-do)	ka-teu-ka-tee
	collar		yentac	
	comer		ko-yie	koatekucka
	concha	puix	{petak /tOt	
	conejo	t'ul	a'-täl	ah-tul
	corazón	kōtan	kEyo-pican	{ka-balín /pusika
	correr	axnimal	ya-kE-tee'-tuañkre	
	coser	espanyél	tcuwi'	
	cuerpo	winik-ilel (man-entire)	kE-cuerpo	ka-cuerpo
	culebra	tean	teañ	tean
	cuñada	bal	kE-mo'	
	cuñado	bal	kE-n'an	
	curar			ta tsakalka
	danta	tsemén	te-el tsimin (woods beast)	
	dar	aweyel		benet
	débil	mankyip	mats-an-umuk (not-has-force)	pue-teem
	dedo		kE-nikūp	nikab
	todos los d- d- del pie	lajatak	kE-pete'kūp kE-niOk	
	día	k'akal	k'in	
	diablo		kwo'tak	manap
	diente	ke	ke	ke
	molares		kE-tcaam	moela
	dios	tcun-tat-tik dios (our-father-of- us-all)	kEn-yum-la dios (our-master- of-us-all)	u-yum-kab

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SPANISH	TZETZAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
dormir	waixy-el	te-weye	ta-vaye
dulce	tcab	tza	tcab
duro		mo Etsuts	tsuts
echar suertes			u yakti ik
que sabe e-	labil		
eclipse	makisit k'akal	mukutce kuwa-kin	{aitobni kin muku kuckan kin
elote	axhan	tcOk-icim	tcok-na
enfermo	{teamel (sickness) aix teamel (he has sickness)	amo-nkohe'lun amon-kohu'lun	koHo
encantar	puku	ankotcuwen upican (force his soul)	tsataya
encanto		jyaan	ah tsataya
e- adentro de la laguna		ta-manap (cf. <i>diablo</i>)	
escoba		misip	misip
escopeta		tsomba'	
escribir	taibahel	kE-tsivan-hom-tsip	tc-tsib
espalda		kopaat	tsumpat
espina	teic	teic	teic
espinazo	{teicil-pat môteo-bakel	tsompat	uhnke tsampat
esposo		k-itök	
esposa		k-itök	
esqueleto	{teicil-bak bak-el-etik		upete u-bak'e
estrella	ök'	ik	lucero
de mañana	tsök	ah-no-ik* (the-big-star)	
vespertina		ah-no-ik*	
pleiades (?)		tcookök (la que brilla)	
Ursa Major	cana-ek		
familia	{bisil te-kal te-kal-atak	{kE <i>familia</i> nats'un tok'up (nosotros todos)	
feo		matc-uts	poeyik
fiesta	k'in		
f- del santo (May 13, Bachajon)	kan-k'in		
flecha	{t'imäl-te tu-te	wun-te	
flor	niteim	unite	nie-te
frente		kE-päl	{ka-tihut pul

* "They say it is the same star." (i. e., Venus).

TZELTAL-YOCOTAN

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	SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192				
197	frijol	{teenek /buul	{bu'um /bu'u	bū
	frio	sik	sis	tsis
	fruta	sit	tsahE	
	fuego	k'ak	k'ak'	k'ak'
	hacer f-	{wakEnuk k'ak /pas k'ak'	teen-k'ak'	ka-tse-re-k'ak'
	fuerce		buta	tcan
	fuerte	tulan	amo-k'en-umuk'	pok'om
	fuerza		ūmuk'	
	gallina		piyuk	
	ganado	gwakac (cow, Spanish)	pam-beket (head-horned)	
	gato	nīs	mīs	
	gato montes	{t'el teox }wac		
	grande	mukul	{nok, nob, }lokōnok	noH
	grano	tcie	hun-eim	
	guaracha	{tep }tcaban	putcyok	
	g- de cascara	canak		
	hablar	k'op	{k'aan }teen'-tan	te-t'an
	hacer	pas-el	kE-teen	
	hermana mayor	{wic }gwic	kE-teite	ka-teite
	h- menor	kitsin	kE-kits'in	ka-teite
	hermano mayor	bañk-il	kE-sukun	ka-sakun
	h- menor	kitsin	{kE-kits'in }wits'in	k'itsin
	hierro	hierro	pal'ip	
	hija	ateic	kE-yōk-istcO'k	
	hijo	nitean	kE-yōk-haxlO'k	
	hilo	hilo	pui'	
	hombre	{winik }vinik	winik	vinik
	hueso	bak-el	bak	bak
	h- del tobillo		OkutkOk	
	huipil		kamie	
	huso	pētēt	pētēt	
	iglesia		teuuk	teu iglesia
	iguana	tOlōk	hū'	huh
	incienso	pōm	pOm	pom
	jarrete		teu-telkin	

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TRIBES AND TEMPLES

	SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192	jefe	yxw'hal	{anoha /kE-xhwes	{noh-van-vinik /noci-vinik
197	j- del pueblo		k-anoha-la tuwa-k'a (our-chief-of-us- all of-the-village)	
	jicara	{tsima', kax /tuts	tup, buc	tup
	j- (rattle)	{teitcil /tautsu	teikic	
	labrar (madera, etc.)	waluyel	pül	
	lagarto	aihyin	Ehin	ahin
	laguna	mukul-ha'	nap	laguna
	lanza	fisig'a (?)	steik-te	lanza
	l- para pescados		teeki'biye	
	lejos	lum-namal	muhnaat	pwenat
	lengua	kak'	kE-ak	ka-ak
	la l-, (idoma)	ts'eltal	yoko'tan	
	leon	{teambalam /tsax-hal-teox (red-the-tiger)	teimai bäl'um	bal'am
	lia		sum	Hote
	ligero	ma-waal (not-heavy)	sečp	pwe sop
	liso		ts'eyyum	
	luna	uH(halalme-tik)	uhi	u
	llano		nun-ham	
	llever	iteeltai-il		
	lluvias (tiempo de)	{bayel-ka-haal /bayel-yac-stal-haal	{amo-ken-ha' /ha'-leltin	non-ha
	madera	{te /te' eti	te'	te
	madre	nan	na'	ka-na
	maiz	icim	icim	icim
	maléolo		kE-petcOk	
	malo	ma-lök-uk	matc-uts	{kanic /mats-uts
	hombre m-	{tcopal /malek-owotan (bad-his-heart)		
	mañana (morning)	sakubal	isapan	ika sapan
	mano	dyal-k'ap	kE-k'up	ka-nikab
	mediodia	holi-kak'al	kEncin-k'in	
	inente		kahalin	
	mes	hun uh	hunpe-uhi*	

*Used for counting time of childbirth.

TZELTAL-YOCOTAN

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 197 miel	{ axn-teap, usum /teap-teul-tatik	te'elē teap	teap
mijilote		abalai'	
mono	mac	pūm	ah-pum
monte	hamal	bwulena	bwenala
mojado		atch	
muchacha	ateie	yok'telum	
muchacho	{kere /kerem	{yokhaxlOhk /ah-lohk	
mucho	bayel	amo-k'en	k'en
muerte	{talteamel /tea-winik	ah-teimi	ah-teami
mujer	ants	icik	icik
murcielago	teOts	tsūts	sūts
muslo		kE-wOk	
muy		{amos /icta	
nadar		nu'ci	
naranja		arancus (Spanish)	
n- agrio		pahala	
nariz	ni	kE-ni'	ni'
negro	ik'	ik	ik
nieta		k'-umam	ka-teok-mama
nieto		kE-bit-umam (pl.)	
niño pequeño	tut-alat	teik'steOk (que todavía son de pecho)	
noche	ak'abal	{chak'Ek /ak'ūp	aitabni
norte	{kin haal /yaxtal-hale' (por aca viene el agua)	te-norte	
viento del n- nuera		ben'dawal kE-hrip	
nuevo	{yateil /tomut	{teOk* /sihip†	tsihib
ofrenda	matamniil (gifts)	{cux'hiwa /atcumpom (first fruits)	hisi utci hunpe si
ojo	sit	{kE-pu'ut /hut	hut
olorosa		mahatsin'na	
olla	ōcom		
oreja	teikin	kE-teikin	teikin

*For animals and human beings. †For inanimate objects.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

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TRIBES AND TEMPLES

	SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192	padre	tat	kE-pop	ka-pop
197	pájaro	mut	mut	mut
	panacho		teim-pain	
	pared	pak'	wOk'teē	
	pecho		kE-tokpa'	pantia
	pequeño	tut	teOtcOk	teitrok
	persona	winik	{untu-teugha {untu-winik	vinik
	pava		nakum'lup	
	pavo		ahtsök	ahtsa
	perro	tsit	wi'teuk	viteu
	pesado	ahl	amoh-al	al
	pesando	tsai	hyiyc'to-ha'	maluh
	pescuezo			lukub
	p- en frente		kE-lukup	
	p- por atras		kE-piete	
	petate	pOp	pOp	pop
	pie	kOk'	Ok	ok
	piedra	ton	tun	tc'a
	piel		putci'le	patcihi
	pierna		{kOk {kE-wOk	ka-vok
	pito	amai	Emwi	
	plata	tak'in	takin	
	pluma	kükum	{makup {vite	maku
	platano		haas	haas
	poco	luunteb	tsintap	tsita
	poniente	yaxubak-kaka-baitik	ko-pome-kin (where-sets-sun)	{muku-pome-kin {baca-u-pome-kin
	posole	mata	puhk'a	buka
	primo	cavankil	kE-bitis'a'	ka-pom
	pulgar	sme-kap		noh-nikab
	pulsera		teutui-kup	
	quemar	k'uteik k'akel	pulo'	tu-pule
	quemar		kE-pule	
	raton		tsok	letsuk
	red	trokhax	teip	
	redondo		pete	
	relámpago	{nixkel, tsantsagwal {kaka-teauk	ah-lemi-teawük	teavuk
	rio	ha	rio	
	rodilla		kE-tenek	

TZELTAL-YOCOTAN

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192 rojo	tsak	{truk	teuk
197		{teik	
saliente	{yax-loke-kakal	{biete-kin	{muku-pase-kin
	{hwantec-lok-teul-	{ko-tuts-kin.	{baka-pase-kin
	kakal	(where-rises-sun)	
	(lok = risen		
	teul = holy)		
sangre	teitce	teitce'	teitce
sapo	pokOk	mute	ah-mute
seco	takin	ti'k'in	tikin
el s., tiempo	{takin-huc	amo-tik'in	noh-kin
	{kepel-kinal		
sombrar	tsuncel	pEkE	tu pākōb
semita	tsumbul	ubök	
sierras	sierras	te-wits*	
sol	k'ak-al	kin	k'in
sombrero		hopo	hop'o
soplar		hutstañ	
subir		kE-topseñ	
suegra	meelnial	kE-noh-nak	
suegro	nial	k-itcan	k-itcan
sueño	wayel		
	(nitaa-lan		
sur	(here-below)	sur	
	{hwantec-ote-kakal		
tabacco		kuts	
tambor	kayo'	kowēñ	hoveñ
techo	hol-na'	hai-te'	te-can
techo de palma	ean	can	
tejer	{waluyel	hū'lvwehe	
	{holel		
tejedor	holel	hElū	
tia	mehun	kE-teite	
		(elder sister)	
tio	baxhun	kE-sukun	
		(elder brother)	
tierra	lum	kaap	kab
tigre	teox	ba'lum	ba'lum
tinaja	qip	Ots	pū
tirar (piedra)		la-kE-hulehi-tun	yak-ee-ka-Huleh
(cacopeta)		kE-tcen-sombak	
(lanza)		kE-teik-teen	
tortilla	gwax	{dlaañ	va
		{gua'	
		(all forms of cornbread)	

*Really a directional term South. "Towards the Hills."

	SPANISH	TEZTLAL	YOCOTAN	CHONTAL
192				
197	tortuga	ahk'	ak'	ak'
	trucho	{stackwaiyel {aicwaiyel, t'om	{kweye {tcawük*	tcavok*
	tumbar (un árbol)		kE-yEsen	
	uña (de hombre o de animal)		itrek	itchük
	verde	yac	yuc	yuc
	vida	kucül	anto-pican	halin†
	viejo	{kaalic {mamal	{teupin; {su'g	nohcib
	viento	ik'	ik	ta ik'
	volar	wixhlel	kE-wil'e	
	yacer			ya ka-cacutoc
	verno	bal	kE-ni'E*	
	zaraguate	bats	aHwats	
192	1	hun	hun-pe‡	un-to
197	2	teb'eb‡	tea'-pe	tea-to
802	3	oe'eb	uc'-pe	uc-to
	4	tean'eb	teum'-pe	tean-to
	5	ho'eb	{hun'-ka (one hand) {no'pe	ho-to
	6	hwak'eb	aris, etc., in Spanish	
	7	huk'eb		
	8	wacak'eb		
	9	balun'eb		
	10	lahun'eb		
	11	buiute'eb		
	12	lastcai'yeb		
	13	uc-lahun'eb		
	14	tean-lahun'eb		
	15	ho-lahun'eb		
	16	hwak-lahun'eb		
	17	huk-lahun'eb		
	18	wacak-lahun'eb		
	19	balun-lahun'eb		
	20	tab, tax.		
	21	hun-ka-vinik		
	30	lahun-is-tea-vinik		
	40	tea-vinik		
	50	ho-lahun'eb‡		
	80	teane-vinik		
	100	hoi-vinik		
	400	bak		

*Cf. "Relampago."

†Cf. mente. ‡Used for animate beings. §Used for inanimate objects.

*The suffix = "times."

*Obviously an error, cf. 18.

[pp 479-484 contain no Tzeltal material]

PHRASES

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SPANISH	TZELTAL	JACALTECA
qué estas haciendo?	{bin-ka-pas bin-u-kala-pas	tsetca'u
cundo viene?	han-oi-extal-at*	bain-teotchuli
estoy parado	hoon† tek-el-on	linan-in-an
está parado	estuke-tek-el	
estoy sentado	hutsul-on	pisan-in-an
soy vivo	kucul-on	ain koh-an
soy muerto	estcam-on	tein-kam-an
yo	hoon	hainan
tu	{haat hacat	hate
el	estukel	ha-nax
ella	estukel	ha-ic
nosotros	heo-tik-on	hai-un-tik
Vds.	teebal-ik	hec-tik
ellos	{estukel-ik hai-ik	hep-nax
ellas	estukel-ik	hep-ic
mio	kuün	{ku- -an (?)
tuyo	aguün	
suyo	yuün	
nuestro	{kunn-tik hun- -tik -tik	ku- -tik (?)
suyo	yuün-ik	
este	haini	
ese	ham'to	
aquel (lejos)	{hame lumai antabai	
estoy cantando	lakalta-k'aiyo‡	teimit-nian
voy a cantar	exbakaix-k'aiyo	
quiero cantar		teimit-ni-ninox
ya canté	laknic-k'aiyo	sac-kimit-ni
que es el camino por?	han-ix-vac be	bai-t'et-be
donde está?	{ban-oya ban-aix	bai-taiya
de donde viene?	{ban-tala ban-ic-talat	bai-tuapeto
para donde va?	{ban-ix-vat ban-ic	bai-teectolyi

*Second person. †May be omitted.

‡The person is uncertain.

[PP. 486-502 not Processed]

APPENDIX VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by SENOR AUREO CAUZ, of Toniná

TEXT I

PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

<i>Pas-a</i> Do thou Dios God	<i>resib-il</i> accept (Sp. recibir) (of)	<i>yun*</i> in the name of <i>bin</i> that which	<i>k-aHwal-tik</i> our guardian of us <i>la-ta</i> found	<i>yun</i> in the name of <i>teul-ba-lum-milal</i> blessed the world <i>teitc'</i> blood
<i>bin</i> that which <i>k-aHwal-tik</i> our guardian of us <i>bak'-et-al</i> of (?) bones the <i>aw-on</i> give me <i>ha-nitcan.</i> thy son.	<i>ma-va-la-ta.</i> not was found. Dios God <i>ham-al</i> open <i>te-lum-al</i> health of the earth	<i>pas-a</i> do thou (of) <i>k'-otan-tik</i> our hearts of us <i>koltai-ya</i> free it (protect?)	<i>perdon</i> forgive <i>ham-al</i> open <i>haHwal</i> kneeling (?)	<i>yun</i> in the name of <i>teitc'</i> blood <i>ti'-tik</i> mouths of us <i>haHwal</i> kneeling (?)

TEXT II

TZELTAL CONVERSATION

<i>hoon</i> I <i>yan</i> other y and	<i>lok'-on</i> went out I <i>lum-etik</i> lands <i>lak-il'</i> look at	<i>tar</i> from <i>ta'</i> to their (?) houses	<i>lum-al</i> land the <i>yil-el</i> see Old Ones ("los antiguos")	<i>v-oon</i> went I <i>yan</i> other <i>es-etik</i> plenty	<i>ta'</i> to <i>lugar-etik</i> places <i>baiyel</i> plenty
---	---	--	--	---	--

[192] *This was originally given *ook*, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to *yan*.
 [193] The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-ba-* or *-milal*.
 †The root is *ta*, "come."
 ‡*etik*, or *dik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
 §- is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

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TRIBES AND TEMPLES

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santo	ton-etik		tsiwab-il*		laH-lokes	
holy	stones (carved monuments)		written		it looked	
te†-bit-il	aiz		te-sit	y	paes-hon	
it saw (?)	there are		the faces	and	enjoyed I (myself)	
ta-lek	lar	mulan	aiz	s-na	puro	ton
well	they	pleased	there are	houses	pure	stone
ta-sba	wits	lar	kaltai-tik-on		hil-el	
on top	mound(s)	them	cleared plural we		(we) left (them)	
tsowwöl	Christians		yackoi	tai	yii-el	turbil
many	Mexicans		came	to	see	pretty
hil	li	ya	kikitai	li		
(it) remained	here	I (?)	left	here.		

*tsiwab-wel. "to write."
†May be omitted.

[pp. 505-522 not processed]

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

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The bibliography concerns itself merely with works consulted or referred to in this report, it is not in any sense intended to cover the field. Reference is always given to the edition of any book actually used, without trying to give a complete list of the editions through which the work may have passed. Particularly is this true in the case of earlier sources and manuscripts which have been more recently re-published.

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ABBREVIATIONS

113 The following are the principal abbreviations used:

- Am.*, American.
- Am. Geog. Soc.*, American Geographical Society.
- Am. Philos. Soc.*, American Philosophical Society.
- Anniv. Vol.*, Anniversary Volume.
- Anth.*, Anthropology.
- Arch. Inst. Am.*, Archaeological Institute of America.
- Bol.*, Boletín.
- Bull.*, Bulletin.
- Bur. Am. Ethn., Bull. and Ann. Rep.*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin and Annual Report.
- Cong. Int. Am.* — *Sess.*, Congrès Internationale des Américanistes, —ième Session.
- Ethn.*, Ethnology.
- Field Columb. Mus., Anth. Ser.*, Field Columbian Museum, Anthropological Series.
- Ges. Abhandl.*, Gesammelte Abhandlungen.
- Harvard Univ., Pea. Mus. Pap. and Mem.*, Harvard University, Peabody Museum, Papers and Memoirs.
- Inst.*, Institute.
- Int. Journ. Am. Ling.*, International Journal of American Linguistics.
- Journ.*, Journal.
- König.*, Königlich.
- Lib. Aborig. Am. Lit.*, Library of Aboriginal American Literature.
- Mus.*, Museum.
- Mus. Am. Ind., Heye Found., Contrib.*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Contributions.
- Mus. Nac. Mex.*, Museo Nacional de Mexico.
- Proc.*, Proceedings.
- Sess.*, Session.
- Smiths. Inst.*, Smithsonian Institute.
- Soc.*, Society.
- Soc. Mex. Geog. Estad.*, Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística.
- Univ. Penn., Pub., Ser. Philol., Lit. Arch., Bull. Free. Mus. Sci. Art, and Anth. Pub.*, University of Pennsylvania, Publications, Series in Philology, Literature and Archaeology, Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art, and Anthropological Publications.
- U. S. Nat. Mus.*, United States National Museum.
- Zeits.*, Zeitschrift.

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[For a comparison of Chontal vocabulary with Spanish, Tzeltal, and Yocotan, see 5: Blom & LaFarge, NV9 Tzeltal NV9, category 116, pp. 469-478.]

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Jacaltec NW7

[For a comparison of Chanabal, Jacaltec and Spanish phrases, see 5: Blom & LaFarge,
NV9 Tzeltal NV9, category 116, p. 485.]